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Anlo traditional religion : a study of the Anlo traditional believer's conception of and communion with the #holy'.

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AGLO TRADITIONAL RELIGION

A study of the Aglo traditional believer's
conception of and communion with the "HOLY".

BY

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PRESENTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

1965

1 C7 23 JUN 1965

A B S T R A C T

The Aqlɔ people are culturally a section of the Eve people of West Africa but are politically within Ghana.

Aqlɔ religion professes a belief in a Personal Supreme Creator, personal spirit powers, human ancestral spirits and an impersonal all-pervasive power. The Supreme Being is worshipped informally and personally. The personal spirit powers and the ancestors receive organized cultic attention. When the vital force is "personalized" it is also worshipped.

Aqlɔ communion with the holy, in which symbolism features prominently, is communal and ritualistic. Prayer and sacrifice are the two major ritual acts. In the absence of written texts rigid faithfulness to ritual is lax but is marked more in sacrifice than in prayer. For in the latter priests may vary words to suit current needs.

Yet Aqlɔ religion emphasises and sufficiently provides for personal communion, else the Aqlɔ conception of the Hereafter would be pointless. Individual attentions go to form the bulk of communal worship; the life cycle is loaded with personal religious rites; the holy personally confronts the believer; personal moral uprightness, as a prerequisite for worship, becomes part of religion. But there is no love for one's enemies.

Salvation, attained through works, is deliverance from material ills. Peace is equated with material contentment. But peace and salvation also pertain to the soul. For the

Anglo philosophy of life has no sharp distinction between matter and spirit.

This is Anglo religion at present in the midst of impinging faiths and secular factors of social change. The Anglo people may be conservatives and their society may appear to have resisted these onslaughts, but it is self-deception if the Anglo people suppose that their religion has remained "untouched" and still obtains exactly as in the days of the fathers.

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Some obscure points later arose as this work was taking

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It is not, therefore, groundless if I here confess my unworthiness to claim any praise, if there should be any at all, that this work may deserve. However, should there appear any errors in it, I am alone responsible.

C.R. Gaba,
King's College,
London.

February, 1965.

C H A P T E R I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose and Method of the Research

The purpose of this research is to investigate and present some facts of Anglo traditional religious beliefs and practices from the viewpoint of theology rather than of anthropology or sociology. Students of the latter two disciplines have often sought to understand religions as products of social life by relating them to the social structure. It is especially the non-scriptural religions, to which group Anglo traditional religion belongs, that are the principal victims. For in describing and discussing a religion that has no scriptures to explain and defend it, it is far too easy to adopt a superior attitude and perhaps regard it all as superstition the usefulness of which only lies in the social function it performs. One may easily observe the external ritual but the inner meaning may not be so readily discerned let alone appreciated where the religion lacks written explanations which gradually lead subsequent believers and inquirers as well, towards the apprehension of the ultimate truth behind this unique and extraordinary experience involving the holy.* Being unlettered does not in anyway suggest that these explanations are absent in the lives of the non-scriptural believer. He is just unlucky by reason of his illiteracy that he cannot, as it were, immortalize through documentary sources, his religious experience as his scriptural counterpart can do.

Now the anthropological or the sociological method of

interpreting religions, of course, is inevitable, since it is society that gives shape to religion and it is in society that religion functions. There is, therefore, no reason why the consideration of religion should not be accepted as being part of the social life and as being strongly influenced by the social structure. But to the believer religion means something much more than this (1). To him, primarily, religion is an inward attitude which is recognized as externally formalized into doctrines and practices.

In all its forms religion, as an inward attitude stems from man's desire to establish a healthy and a helpful relationship between himself and the powers - be they personal or impersonal - which he feels are higher than his own with a view to supplying a felt need. Without this helpful relationship a believer feels religion cannot perform its social function which the anthropologist or the sociologist largely stresses in his study of a religion. At least this is what the man at the 'lower' level of religious development feels. "The crops will not grow, hens will not lay, women will not have children, the rain will not fall, lightning will destroy our houses, wild beasts will ravage our plantations, sickness and death will decimate families." (2). In other words if the don't's of any religion are violated all acts of religious devotion as an expression of the inner urge in that particular religion become ineffective and harmful results to the doer's well-being follow.

In this research, then, it is proposed to examine some Anlo religious beliefs and practices insofar as they help towards a better understanding of what this religion primarily is to the believer. In short, to discover how the Anlo people, through their traditional religion, conceive of and seek to establish a healthy and a helpful relationship with the powers they believe to be higher than they so as to make this religion perform the social function of either the anthropologist's or the sociologist's research.

There is practically no literature on the Anlo people to be of much help especially to the student of theology. The only direct works available on the Anlo people are two unpublished Ph.D theses which are basically studies in social anthropology. G.K. Nukunya's, presented to the University of London in 1964, is a study of the "Kinship Marriage and Family" systems of the Anlo people. Except for one or two references to religion which the student of theology may be tempted to question but which may be overlooked by an anthropologist, Nukunya's work is monumental in the aspect of Anlo social life he has studied. D.K. Fiawoo's thesis, submitted to the University of Edinburgh in 1959, aspires to be a record of how the "magico-religious concepts" of the Anlo people have been influenced by the factors of social change. Since this is a record of non-participant fieldwork (3) and an account of religion as it appears to the

anthropologist, this work should not be expected to be of any substantial help to the student of theology or to anyone who wishes to have a deep and sympathetic study of religion.

A third work may be added (4). This deals primarily with the functioning of morality in Angloland as it appears to the mind of a playwright. Religion is introduced, passim, as a sanction to morality. Though hints may be collected in this work about religion in the Angloland of the "grandfathers" yet, as may be expected, the facts of religion have been moulded in the crucible of dramatic freedom. This, of course, is not the author's fault, concerned as he should be more with the unveiling of a dramatic plot.

Other particular written sources consulted refer to the Anglo people in the general context of the Ewe people, to which larger language and cultural group the Anglo people particularly belong in West Africa. Manoukian's is an ethnographic survey. Her section on religious beliefs and cults has as "the main source of information Spieth's 'Religion der Eweer' which is an interpretation of Ewe religious texts rather than a systematic analysis of Ewe religion" (5); and her account itself is "the presentation of his (Spieth's) material in a summary form." (6).

B.E. Ward's unpublished M.A. thesis refers to the religion of the Ewe people in general in so far as it affects the Ewe social organization. The only direct section about

the Anlo people deals largely with an economic activity of the people, namely fishing and the material for this she collected from Miss Baëta - now Justice Mrs. Jiagge in Ghana - who was then a law student in Britain. Hence this and Manoukian's have not helped much.

Spieth's "Die Religion der Eweer in Süd Togo" (Berlin 1911) was quite helpful in the sense that it gives, in many respects, an accurate account of many deities some of which appear to be extinct now. But Spieth seems to have recorded his facts in blocks as they came down to him without any attempt to give them the sort of scientific classification known to modern research (7). Moreover, the loudness of Christian dogma influencing his opinion detracts much from the genuineness of his research on the whole. His "Die Ewe Stämme" is the result of his research in Togo, now in the Volta Region of Ghana, among the northern Ewe neighbours of the Anlo people. But some of his proverbs listed have helped as they are also used by the Anlo people.

Westermann is mainly noted for his contributions in the field of linguistics (8). But his work which could have helped "Die Glidyi Ewe" refers to the Anlo people mainly in social organization and his section on religion has nothing new to add to Spieth.

Sir A.B. Ellis' "Ewe Speaking People" was consulted mainly out of curiosity because almost all scholars quoting

him did so to correct his views. Herskovits, Spieth, and D.A. Chapman, an Angloman, condemn it. (9) D.E.K. Amenumey an Anglo born historian refers to Ellis as "former district Commissioner" of Keta once the administrative capital of Angloland, and then contrasts this with the description of the title of Ellis' book as "a complete misnomer." To D.K. Fiawoo an Anglo anthropologist, Ellis' work is "hardly deserving of mention as an anthropological contribution," (10) while Nukunya, an auto-ethnographer of an aspect of Anglo social life comments "This book is remarkable for its deficiency in facts and whatever facts there are refer to customs generally associated with Dahomey" (11). Then Dr. Parrinder, speaking of fetishism, Ellis' favourite but often misused word, makes a statement which aptly suits the whole work. It "should be completely relegated to the museum of outworn categories." (12) However, the greatest achievement of Ellis is that his work opened the eyes of anthropologists, especially the British, to ascertain his views expressed on West African religion with the result that more literature exists now on West Africa than might otherwise have been.

Finally Amenumey's heavily documented unpublished M.A. Thesis, submitted to the University of London in 1964, is perhaps the first attempt to write the history of the Ewe people as one cultural homogeneity. The section of his work found really useful is the historical appraisal of the Anglo

traditions of origin to which he gives prominence in the general context of the Eve people.

Judging, therefore, from existing documentary sources, it appears no literary work has as yet been produced on the Anlo people and which essays to present the hard facts of the religion of this unlettered people as these facts appear to the eyes of faith by an approach which owes allegiance to the current study of Comparative Religion. The present work is calculated to remedy this deficiency.

To achieve this end, an account as much near the original religion of the people as possible is of vital importance. Though the idea of a felt need to be supplied may appear to reduce all religions to a universal base and the classification of religions into "lower" and "higher" groups, for example, may aid to form an idea of others in the same class after studying one of them, yet environment imposes such amazing differences on each of the religions in the same group - colouring variously man's religious doctrines and practices - that a careful and an on-the-spot study of each religion is important for a more accurate opinion to be formed of it. As an instance, in West Africa, the Ashanti people (12a) and the Anlo people both practise forms of "lower" religion. Both believe in, say, a Supreme Being, the deities and the ancestors. But a careful study of these two forms of the same African traditional religion in their own

natural environment reveals that the Ashanti people have an organized worship of their Supreme Being, Nyankopon, while the Aqla Supreme Being, Mawu, receives largely informal and short ejaculatory prayers as worship from his people. The cult of the ancestors among the Ashanti people is much more organized and developed while the cult of the deities takes precedence over that of the ancestors in Aqloland. Therefore, in this study the Aqla people are made to speak for themselves through words and actions.

Like other African traditional peoples religion is a deep-rooted factor in the life of the Aqloman. It claims and controls the whole of his person from the cradle to the grave and even beyond the grave since to him death is not the end but a point of transition in one and the same life. It is in the name of religion that political, economic, social and judicial activities are carried out and there is hardly any day throughout the length and breadth of Aqloland when either individuals or groups of blood relation or of cult affiliation do not engage in activities in one form or another to achieve a helpful communion with the holy. In short religion provides the basis for the Aqla philosophy of life.

Religion in Aqloland forms the theme of songs; it makes use of myths as the vehicles of its truth; it is enshrined in sayings, proverbs, personal names, riddles, drum language and liturgy. All these supply the inquirer with a good portion.

of the material he needs to be able to form a reasonably correct opinion of the religion of this unlettered people. Unlettered as the Anglo people are, all this valuable material has been preserved and has come down by way of oral traditions with their attendant weaknesses of accretions and modifications which cloud the original meaning as these traditions pass from generation to generation. Fresh maxims are deliberately and also unknowingly invented and worked into the original corpus of oral traditions as new facts of religion are learnt from foreign and impinging faiths. In sifting the original and the unadulterated, Dr. E.W. Smith provided the measuring rod. The genuineness of a proverb or a pithy saying "is attested by the obsolete words and archaic grammatical forms which they contain; that they are traditional is proved, I think by their being known and used over wide tribal areas" (13). The first source of information, then, is the oral traditions which also enshrine the Anglo philosophy of life.

The second source of information is the people's own description of their beliefs and practices collected through questioning and group discussions particularly after religious ceremonies witnessed. Sacred religious enthusiasts, both young and old, who, it is believed, have had little contact with foreign faiths, Christianity and other forms of traditional religion among some other West African groups, even sceptics have been interviewed.

The third source is of a participant nature so as to see and verify personally how the beliefs are expressed in practices connected with the holy. Indeed to get the correct feel of the religious awareness of a people and how deep religion is as a "theological" and not either as "anthropological" or "sociological" factor, it is most important to see the people under study at worship or other cult activities not as a passive observer, probably from a superior angle, but as an active participant - a worshipper - in many of the permissible rituals and ceremonies. Therefore much more time has been spent on this than any other sources of information. Wherever it was possible prayers and other forms of liturgical language were tape recorded for later analysis and samples are preserved verbatim in this thesis in the original Anlo language (14). Where a tape recorder could not be safely used a reconstruction was attempted immediately after the function depending on records in the diary of daily events and on the clarification of obscure points by willing cult servants and other adherents.

To check upon the trustworthiness of the accounts of illiterate traditional informants, lectures were delivered to groups of literate Anlo people and discussions later held with the willing among them who appear to have some reasonable knowledge of their traditional religion.

Finally the religious beliefs and practices of Anlo

neighbours which are believed to have influenced those of the Anlo people have been investigated. Here much is owed to scholars like Herskovits, Rattray, Field, Parrinder, Busia and Idowu.

The real fieldwork for this study was done in Anloland from August 1963 to May 1964. In choosing the area for intensive study three factors were put into consideration. Firstly, the area must be comparatively small and compact. Secondly, it must as far as possible be reputed for a jealous preservation of Anlo traditional life. Thirdly, it must be a place where co-operation could easily be solicited from informants. Anlogã with its environs was chosen because it appeared to have satisfied the required 'minimum qualifications. Moreover, as the traditional capital, Anlogã has something to offer on the major religious beliefs and practices in all Anloland and its uncompromising conservatism helped to preserve a good deal that might be much nearer the unadulterated traditional religion. Afife merited a choice partly because of its traditionalism which has not yet come under the disintegrating scourge of urbanization towards which Anlõgã has already started budding; and partly because Afife is intended to represent, in a general sort of way, the other local settlements in Anloland outside the "Anlo proper" area.

(15) Afife then has acted as a check on material from Anlogã and the "Anlo proper" division as a whole so as to render

more inclusive the generalization on behalf of all Anloland.

No time was spared to visit places where unique cults helped to throw light on important features in Anlo religion. Relevant here may be mentioned Abɔ, Blamezado, Tregui, Klɔfudzi and Woe.

Except for local particularities, which must, of course, be expected, generalizations in this work regarding major conceptions of ~~and~~ communion with the holy embrace the Anloland of the Crowther Commission (15). These generalizations may be considered valid, for if the research of Dr. Nukunya has revealed that local divisions in Anloland are much more closely knit together on one hand against any other Ewe social group "in language, music, dancing and forms of salutation," (16) then much more should resemblances be in the sphere of religion which provides the basis for the Anlo philosophy of life in which these other cultural traits function. However, it is worth putting on record that the facts of religion as they are presented in this work are more directly drawn from the "Anlo proper" and Afife local settlements of Anloland.

Like Dr. Nukunya, the present study is the work of an "auto-ethnographer," that is, the author was born and bred in the general surroundings of the area of the research. Some advantages over the foreign inquirer should naturally be expected. Firstly language was no problem to him. Secondly, because he is one of them, his informants felt to some extent

more secure to speak out freely without the fear of "selling themselves," so they say, for further enslavement in these days by the "Whiteman Africans" - the Central Government. Then some of the traditional believers had travelled widely to other parts of Ghana and West Africa and had known of the recording of other people's religion. Moreover, Radio Ghana nowadays relays traditional religious programmes in the interest of "culture" So that some Aŋlɔ̃ people were really desirous that the voice of Aŋlɔ̃land too should be heard far and wide (17). But surprisingly this last advantage did not appear to have led to any deliberate exaggeration of facts by informants. For the fear of a dangerous manifestation of the holy, should he be incorrectly represented, is one thing that the Aŋlɔ̃man is mindful of whenever he is speaking on questions of his religion. However, it would be wrong to suppose that all informants would go by the letter of this belief. The method of interviewing two or more people on the same topic in one area, thus helped to rectify this probable deficiency which might mar the genuineness of this work.

Additionally, for six years, the author worked as a mission teacher in intensely traditional areas in Aŋlɔ̃land - in and around Atɪavi and Aŋlɔ̃gã. Then for the past eight years his home had been established in the traditional capital of Aŋlɔ̃gã where two important lineages (18) very knowledgeable in traditional beliefs and practices accepted him as their

son-in-law. Having also spent part of his days in the urbanized town of Keta, he was greatly helped in his assessment of traditional religion under the factors of social change.

Finally the author has a faith that he lives by - Christianity. So that he is not unqualified to have a study of other people's religion especially where this study, like the present, aspires to view religion as a living faith that some people hold dear. "For religion is not a thing to be coldly analysed but a faith of persons." (19).

However, this study is not unaware of one or two difficulties which may beset the unwary who has the advantages just listed. As an "auto-ethnographer", the student may be expected by his informants to know certain basic facts which they may gloss over. He may also, out of sympathy and indiscriminate nationalism, be tempted to present local values out of their true perspective with a view to glorifying his own culture. Lastly by professing a different faith rooted in a "higher" religion the student may probably get himself involved in allowing his own religious convictions to impose his views on the faith of those he is studying. To be able to recognize these possible drawbacks is enough in itself to suggest that they have been sufficiently provided against. And thanks to eminent scholars of modern methods of research (20), whose counsels have helped rescue this work from a

conscious lapsing into the clutches of these factors, detrimental as they are to genuine research.

Therefore, in the main body of this work, relying on already existing documentary material and what personal investigations have uncovered, an attempt will be made to present as accurately as can possibly be done, some facts of Aqlɔ traditional religion and what this religion primarily means to the ordinary Aqlɔ believer. Then, to discuss such problems that may arise in relation to some theories put forth by scholars on the nature of "lower" and preliterate religions in general and on African and West African religions in particular. Care will be taken to examine the whole cultus sympathetically from the inside as the leading scholars who have inspired and directed this work have advised. The whole ground can never be covered; it will be too presumptuous to suppose this. "Nunya adidoe; asi metune o." "Knowledge is a baobab tree; one man can never encircle it with his arms." This is the Aqlɔ proverb that used to echo in the author's thoughts when he was trying to reduce the "raw material" into a reasoned and clear form. Nothing can be more appropriate in acknowledging the shortcomings of the outcome of the research than this proverb which is much loved by the people whose religion is under study.

The Land and the People

The present home of the Anlo people lies in the extreme south-eastern corner of the Republic of Ghana. Except for the Volta River in the extreme south-west and the sea which washes its southern shores, Anloland is surrounded by other Ewe groups - In the north and east by part of the Ewe section in the Republic of Togo and in the west by Toru (Tongu on Ghana maps). Anloland is considered the largest single political unit among the Ewe people before the coming of the Colonial powers. It occupies approximately an area of 883 sq. miles and in the 1960 Ghana Census the inhabitants were reckoned to be 241,017 - a density of about 321 persons per square mile after an allowance of about a sixth of the surface area is made for lagoons.

The Anlo dialect provided the basis for the first Ewe Grammar published in 1856 by B. Schlegel, a German Missionary, and most of the Ewe literature at present. But quite surprisingly, more documents exist on the other Ewe groups than on the Anlo. This seems to be principally the outcome of the uncompromising conservatism of the Anlo people which hates unnecessary interference in their internal affairs especially matters dealing directly with religion. In the far off days, especially in the early days of Christianity, it was considered most irreverent and a great sacrilege for traditional believers to reveal facts of their religion to inquirers who were mainly foreigners from Europe "Boko"

Tsila Adzra of Aŋlɔgã and Chief Adrakpanya II of Afife representatively affirmed that it displeased the deities and the ancestors calling forth a series of misfortunes on the people. Moreover, they continued, the Whiteman (21) would through the possession of this knowledge subdue them. Also, in his "Eve Kristo Hame Dutinya" (Bremen 1936) Paul Wiegräbe relates an incident in which the Missionary, Plessing, visited Aŋlɔgã on horseback. To the Aŋlɔ people only their national deity, Nyigblã, had the right in Aŋlɔland in those days to wear clothes and ride on horseback. So that there was a great uproar when Plessing broke this main taboo. The crowd which gathered vented their holy anger on the native guide for not informing the missionaries of this taboo. This attitude among the Aŋlɔ people - almost as strong as it was in the past - which punishes a native host for the sacrilegious offence committed by his foreign guest helps a good deal to keep the conservatism going. Even many of the political troubles that the Aŋlɔ people had had with the Colonial Central Government and do have now with the Ghana Government are largely the outcome of the Aŋlɔ faithfulness to this religiously based conservatism. Students of Old Testament History cannot fail to recognize a parallel between this African people and the Palestinian Jews in the hectic days of Antiochus Epiphanes of Syria. Fortunately this conservatism was a great source of help in that it helped

to preserve much of the genuine elements in the people's religion and it needs not many words to show how tremendously this had contributed to ease the field research at many stages. The village of Afife, now the greatest stronghold of the Aqlɔ national deity, deserves a special mention.

According to D.A. Chapman's geography of Eveland, Aqlɔland occupies the Southern lowlands and the southern part of the central plain (22). The coastal belt is a long sand-spit much below sea level in and around Keta. Keta suffers regularly and at the same period during the year from sea erosion which the primitive mind among the inhabitants consider naturally inexplicable. Low grasses form the natural vegetation on the coastal belt. North of the coastal strip stretches a long marshy depression almost parallel to the coastal belt. Here abound lagoons and creeks of curious shapes which proclaim the wonders of nature more especially to the religious mind. Its natural vegetation provides raw materials for mat, mattress and reed weaving. North Aqlɔ is located on the red soil central plain - a rather arid and unproductive region. The natural vegetation here is largely a treeless savanna dotted with giant baobab trees and beautiful ant-hills which provide concrete expressions in nature worship among the Aqlɔ people.

Economic activities of the Aqlɔ people follow closely the nature of the environment Large scale fishing is

carried on in the sea, lagoon and creeks and the Anlo people are better known to their neighbours for their supply of fish and salt - which the lagoon yields in very dry seasons - than for their "Kete," the native hand-loom woven cloth. No wonder D.A. Chapman refers to the area as "the home of Gold Coast fisherman" and goes on to say "a good deal of the fishing in other parts of the Gold Coast is in the hands of these people and the fishermen from Keta and nearby villages are found as far afield as the Ivory Coast, Dahomey and the Congo and in Nigeria, Badagry is their centre" (23) Shallot and vegetable farming is done on the southern banks of the Keta Lagoon and in the marshy areas the natural vegetation is cleared for sugar cane cultivation. The sugar cane together with oil palm, which fringes the southern portion of the central plain, gives rise to some amount of illicit gin and rum distilling. This is why the festive side of Anlo religious ceremonies is almost always regarded as successful. Other crops like cassava and maize are grown in the north Anlo area while the sandy coastal strip supports coconut which is now threatened by a disease commonly known as Cape Saint Paul Wilt (24). The women make use of the various palms in oil production and crafts like basket and fish-trap weaving. Those in the marshy areas take to mat, mattress and reed weaving in and around Atiavi mainly. On the red soil central plain, pottery provides the means of

livelihood for the women folk. Most of the products provide articles for regular trade between the Aqlɔ people and their northern and Togo Ewe neighbours and the other tribes of Ghana. The trade is largely in the hands of the women population "There is hardly any woman who does not trade" remarks Westermann (25) and "we, the women, ask for success in trade" was the prayer offered by a priestess during the 1964 festivals at Aqlɔgã (26).

Socially the Aqlɔ people are grouped into smaller units. The social groups are mainly "based on lineage system which is generalized at a higher level in clanship," Hlɔ (27). That there are conflicting statements on the number of clans as pointed out by Westermann, Ward and Nukunya (28) shows that there are many of them. But there is no dispute about the fact - and this is rather the concern of this thesis - that membership of a clan in Aqlɔland is based on the descent from the same ancestor and the sharing of the same totem and taboo prohibitions, "kɔ." There is a distinct clan, Blu, as opposed to all other clans grouped together. Blu, which is also the Aqlɔ name for the Akans, is regarded as the clan for strangers who have not been able to gain access into the clans of their hosts (29). The main force which keeps the clans still going is religion and it is only when these social groups meet in religious ceremonies involving their common ancestors and deities that they are more clearly

distinguished as individual social groups.

Almost all extant documentary sources (30) dealing with the history of the Anlo people are largely a reconstruction of their traditions of origin. These traditions claim that the Anlo people, like the other Ewe groups, migrated from the east westward arriving at their present home before the last quarter of the 17th Century (31). It is not proposed here to give a detailed account of this exodus partly because such minute details seem somewhat irrelevant to this study and partly because they have been ably recorded in other works (32). Nor is it planned to spend much time on the historical merits and de-merits of these oral traditions - this appears solely the work of the student of history (33).

One tradition of origin locates the real home of the Anlo people at a place called Belebele. Another equates this home with Ketu and a third recognizes Notsie (Nuati on French maps) as the ancestral home.

First the Belebele tradition. Some Anlo people equate Belebele with Biblical Babel and then postulate that the Anlo people, together with other Ewe groups and other West African peoples, especially the Yoruba group, migrated from Babel after the confusion of tongues recorded in Genesis eleven. In support of their theory, the adherents of the Belebele tradition claim a close affinity between Israel of

old and the Anlo people - the rigid morality enshrined in the ten commandments is considered reflected in the Anlo Nyiko custom (34); and then by means of an ingenious calculation these people recognize twelve major Anlo clans which they ~~parallel~~ with the twelve tribes of Israel!

These plausible references are not heard of on the lips of any traditional believers who know their traditions of origin well enough to give some accurate representation of them. Granting that this strand had been present in the original corpus, at least early converts to Christianity who obviously were the main informants of early missionary research workers would not have hesitated to give it out more especially by way of glorifying their own religion not to mention the most that the missionaries might make of this interesting piece of information. Perhaps these informants did, but the missionaries, faithful to their knowledge of Old Testament history simply glossed it over as wishful thinking. Even here at least one of them might have made just a passing reference to it. This tradition, then, can safely be regarded as an illusion from a few sophisticated, over-ambitious and over-zealously nationalistic literate Anlo people whom Christianity has supplied with materials they are struggling hard to work into their own history - ignorant that the Babel incident itself is highly debatable among scholars as a true historical account. Probably the

Belebele men read Lucas' lone account (35) which attributes similar fantastic and incredible traditions of origin to the Yoruba people and, perhaps, encouraged by their own Ketu tradition, these Anlo people found a nice precedent to invent one for themselves. This paragraph may be closed with the warning sounded by Dr. Parrinder (36) in the "Proceeding of the third International West African Conference" when speaking with particular reference to the question of Egyptian influence in West African religions. "Until more positive evidence from other sources is available it may be advisable to consider the claim for much direct Egyptian influence in West African religion to be not proven."

According to the Ketu tradition some Anlo people believe that their forefathers journeyed to their present home from Ketu, a Yoruba town now in east Dahomey. The adherents of this tradition prop their theory mainly on some affinities that the religion of the Anlo people has more with that of the Yoruba and some eastern Ewe neighbours than with that of other West African peoples. Admittedly, Afa divination has far too much in it to justify either a direct or indirect borrowing from Yorubaland. Afa, Du, Medzi, correspond respectively to the Yoruba Ifa, Oduo, Meji. Then a Fon speaker is quite at home with the secret language of So or Da cults in Anloland. And this presupposes a Fon origin for a very large part if not the whole of these cults. The Ketu

traditionalists, then, believe that Afa divination was adopted by their ancestors when they were in Ketu and the So and Da cults were embraced when the Anlo people sojourned under the tribal name of "Dogbo" in "Adele region" as the neighbours of other Ewe groups including the "Fon - Adja people" (37).

Westermann (38) notes language similarities in support of the Ketu Tradition and Amenumey also (39) notes in the pages of Jacques Bertho some evidences for a further support. But these evidences are in support of the entire Ewe traditions of origin. Amenumey, again, notes corroborative evidences in the traditions of other Ewe groups, which support the main stages of the Westward migration from Ketu of the Anlo people under the name of Dogbo.

The language similarities may equally be founded in the basic "Kwa" group to which Yoruba and Ewe languages belong. The elements in Anlo religion believed to support a Westward move of the Anlo people, could as well have been introduced into Anlo land by itinerant priests or returning Anlo sojourners in the home of these religious practices. On the other hand if the Anlo people can freely speak of their national deity as foreign having been introduced into their country from their Western neighbours, there is a probability for similar frankness in pronouncements on Anlo religious elements believed to have come from their eastern neighbours. At any

rate the Ketu tradition exists and it is worth noting though its support among the traditional believers themselves is not as widespread as the Notsie tradition - probably because it belongs to a more distant past and not because it is untrustworthy. (40a).

The Notsie tradition holds that the ancestors of the Anlo people journeyed to their present home from a place called D3tsie now in the Republic of Togo. This journey is believed to have been undertaken in two main batches under two leaders (40). One party under Venya came to Atiteti on the northern shores of the great Keta Lagoon, crossed over in canoe and settled on the large sand-spit between the lagoon and the sea. The party under Sri colonized the area between the lagoon and the Volta. Tradition also explains the cause of their wanderings as due to the cruelty of Agokoli II, chief of Dotsie. Presumably over-population, inadequacy of productive land, famine and the ordinary promptings of the adventurous spirit might have been the more probable reasons which engendered the migration. This tradition is related in some details because it is this one that many illiterate traditional believers still recount with reasonable accuracy.

In support of the Dotsie tradition, the Anlo people themselves usually cite some ceremonial practices that used to exist between the Dotsie and the Anlo people till about a decade ago. The official sandals of a new Anlo paramount

ruler were believed sent to Notsie to be blessed by the chief priest there before his accession was regarded as constitutional. During annual festivals representatives of the various Anlo clans used to go on pilgrimage to Notsie to receive ancestral blessings "bebe" for all descendants. A group of Anlo deities are known as "Hogbetrowo", deities from the ancestral home." Then in December 1962 a national festival, "Hogbezã", was instituted and, it is hoped, will be celebrated annually to remind posterity of the wanderings of their ancestors from Notsie to their present home. (41).

These Anlo "ties" with Notsie could as well be the acknowledgement of suzerainty of a conqueror over the conquered. But apart from the absence in either tradition or recorded history of any War between the Notsie and the Anlo people, that might probably result in such a relationship, it does not appear likely for the descendants of the Anlo people to continue voluntarily with customs reminiscent of subjection let alone to institute of their own accord a festival that will continue to remind them of subjection to an alien power. A migration may be a more probable answer.

At present the Anlo people are generally **unanimous** over the belief that their ancestors ~~have~~ not been living all the time in present Anloland. Opinion, however, is divided over the actual starting point of this Westward move. From the look of things, Notsie appears to gain the most popular support as

"Hogbe", the ancestral home - probably because this tradition is much nearer the living and can be recounted with some amount of certainty.

The present day Anlo people believe that when their ancestors arrived at their present homeland, the northern portion was found to be "gbelala" an uninhabited wild rather arid and unproductive by nature. The fertile southern part, of course, was already inhabited. About those original inhabitants nothing is known for certain. Although it cannot be completely ruled out that these aborigines could have remained as basis of the new society, yet one Anlo tradition postulates that all, except two clans, fled for fear; another tradition holds that it was not two clans but two male individuals, Gbaku and Dutokonyi, who were the original inhabitants. These two men, tradition goes on, having disappeared miraculously, came to be regarded later as gods who came to live on earth in the likeness of men and cults developed around them. Others are of the opinion that Gbaku and Dutokonyi are rather deities of those two clans who did not flee. At any rate, in the worship of these two clan deities looked after by the Bamee and Tsiamé clans respectively the Anlo people constantly remind themselves that they are "colonists" in their present home.

The Awamefia is the ruler of all Anloland (42) and he governs through his representatives "dufiawo" the local chiefs,

who head affairs in the local settlements which are the smaller units into which Anloland is subdivided. Each local settlement enjoys a good amount of autonomy and in the past central authority became necessary only when the nation was at War and in very serious judicial cases, homicide for instance, when jurisdiction ranked above the authority of the local chief and central attention became indispensable

The Awamefia is provided alternately by two royal clans - Adzovia and Bate. He is also the chief of Anlogã and the honorary high priest of the national deity. In far off days, the Awamefia was veiled from the sight of his subjects and only a few elders of the nation had access to him; even here it was on very rare occasions. A local settlement chief hails from a local royal lineage which is made up of the descendants of either the first settlers or the dominant local lineage. After his installation, the local chief goes to Anlogã to swear oaths of allegiance to the Awamefia. A good knowledge of this centralization helps towards a better understanding and appreciation of the Anlo conception of and communion with the holy.

The real power in a local settlement in Anloland is in the hands of the people "duawo." They are represented by the elders of the various local lineages. This body acts as a check upon the "zikpui," "the stool" that is, the government, formed by the local chief and the elders of the royal lineage. Final decision, however, is the prerogative of the people and

the chief with his advisers has just got to accede to this. Veto then does not form part of the authority of any Anlo ruler and this is reflected in the popular saying. "Du menoa fia me o efia nna du me." (43) and in the general prayers of intercession to the ancestors on worship days "Due nye fia" (44). Both Anlo expressions mean "It is the people who are the real rulers and not the chief." An Anlo dictatorial chief in the days of old is believed murdered. "Fia yi Dziehe" "The chief has gone down South" is the euphemism for this - as against the executed criminal subject referred to as "Eyi Toko At3lia "He is gone to the fifth landing stage" (45).

It is almost a platitude with some people who have made a study of the Eve people to postulate that the Eve people were introduced to the institution of chieftaincy after their arrival in their present homeland. Westermann (46) appears the main exponent of this theory. It is intended to show here that if this were true at all, which does not seem the case, the generalization for the Eve people does not include the Anlo people. Of course some offices in Anlo chieftaincy and military organization appear to support Westermann's theory. A war company " aualogo" in Anlo, is more commonly known by its Akan equivalent as "asafo", and the chief in charge of it is "asafohene", another Akan word. Other words like Adotri, Tsiam; and Blafo are also of Akan origin. The "atopa" drums which boom the praises of the ancestors during ancestral rites

"came as a stranger to the ancestors" (47) - from the Akan people. Above all, the songs which break the holy silence imposed during an ancestral immolation rite are usually in a meaninglessly corrupted Akan.

On the other hand, tradition recounts the Anlo people to have had chiefs long ago before arriving in their present home - to meet the Akan people. Sri I is mentioned as the Anlo chief at Notsie and the leader of one of the two main parties of emigrants to the present Anloland (Sri II ruled from 1907 to 1957). Then tradition also preserves a neat list of Anlo chiefs (48) dating back to Notsie. As already alluded to, there used to be an exchange of gifts with the chief of Notsie on the accession of a new paramount ruler of Anloland not to mention the blessing of the official sandals of the latter by the chief priest of Notsie. Moreover, there are special Anlo drums, "agblo" and "aboba", which also sing the praises of the ancestors. It was an "agblo" drum that officially welcomed the reigning chief during the major stool festival and also broke the silence after the immolation rite in the minor stool festival studied for this thesis (49). In fact the present investigations have revealed that the "agblo" and "aboba" drums, which are considered original Anlo drums, are more used to praise the ancestors than the "atopa" drums of Akan origin. Additionally, if it is believed that the Anlo people, as a section of the Ewe people have ever been in

contact with either the Yoruba or the Fon people, it may not be a mere conjecture that the Aŋlɔ people have picked up some institutions, chieftaincy for instance, from these other peoples. Above all, an Aŋlɔ chief is "fia", a solidly Aŋlɔ word; a commander-in-chief" of the Aŋlɔ military organization is officially known only by an Aŋlɔ word, "avadada" while many of the offices for which Akan words are used, have real Aŋlɔ words - "avalogo" is the Aŋlɔ for the Akan "asafo". So that it may not be far from right if the balance is tilted in favour of the view that the Aŋlɔ people were used to the institution of chieftaincy before settling in their present home. Then through contact, in wars mainly with the Akan groups, they elaborated upon their own chieftaincy and improved also upon their cult of the ancestors. These two institutions the Aŋlɔ people themselves confess, are much more organized and developed among the Akan groups (50).

NOTES : Chapter I

Note * The word "holy" is basically adopted from Prof. Rudolf Otto and largely connotes his idea as "Mysterium tremendum et fascinans". " 'Daemons' and 'gods' alike spring from this root and all are nothing but different modes in which it has been objectified." The idea of the Holy (Pelican 1959). P.29

1. cp. Evans-Pritchard, E.E. : Nuer Religion, (Oxford 1956)
 "Nuer Religion is ultimately an interior state. This state is externalized in rites which we can observe, but their meaning depends finally on an awareness of God..... At this point the theologian takes over from the anthropologist." P.322. Also Parrinder, E.G. : Worship in the World's Religions, (London 1961)
 "But religion is not just outer ritual; it depends on an inward conviction." P.19.
2. Parrinder, E.G. : West African Psychology (London 1951) P.15.
3. Fiawoo himself confesses the non-participant nature of his research on P.89 of his work.
4. Fiawoo, F.K. : Tokɔ Atɔlia (Longman's 1947) English Translation. The Fifth Landing Stage (London 1943).
5. Manoukian, M. : The Eve-speaking People of Togoland and the Gold Coast (London 1952) P.45.
6. Loc. cit.
7. See also Ward, B.E. on Spieth. "The social organization

- of the Ewe People" Unpublished M.A. Thesis P.IV.
8. Westermann, D. : Ewe-English Dictionary; Gbesela, English-Ewe Dictionary; Grammatik der Ewe-sprache translated, Bickford Smith as Study of the Ewe Language. (London 1930).
 9. Amenumey, D.E.K. : Unpublished M.A. Thesis (London 1964) P.5.
 10. Fiawoo, D.K. : op.cit. P.13.
 11. Nukunya, G.K. : op.cit P.17.
 12. Parrinder, E.G. : West African Religion (London 1961) pp. X1, 9.
 - 12a. Rattray, R.S. : Ashanti (Oxford 1923) Religion and Art in Ashanti (Oxford 1927).
 13. Smith, E.W. : African Ideas of God (Ed.) (London 1950) P.5.
 14. Appendix A.
 15. The Gold Coast Review Vol.III No.1 Jan-June 1927 pp. 11-55.
 16. Nukunya, G.K. : op.cit. P.16.
 17. cp. Prayer in App. B. No.51. "May you bring it about that Anlo-land also gains a place of honour among the nations of the World. Also App. B. No.49. "Now as I offer this prayer for him.....I confidently tell himthat all the co-operation that he needs from me I shall surely give him."

18. These two lineages are (1) Kwawukume which is one of the two lineages which provide the paramount ruler of Anlo land; (2) Sokpo, the custodian lineage of Mama Tomi, one of the leading clan deities of Anlo land.
19. Parrinder, E.G. : Comparative Religion (London 1962)
P.17 cp. the Anlo Proverb "Ame manyi koklo megbloa avako fe nya o." "He who does not rear chicks should not talk of the hawk."
20. Anthropologists like Prof. Evans-Pritchard, Lucy Mair, Fortes, Firth, Forde; Theologians like Profs. Zaehner, James, Drs. Cragg, Parrinder and Taylor.
21. Whiteman: Even today the Anlo people still confuse this word with missionary, central government and all employers of literates as the recorded ritual recitals in Appendix A or B also bear out.
22. Chapman, D.A. : Human Geography of Eueland (C.I.A.O. Dakar 1945).
23. Chapman, D.A. : Our Homeland Bk.I (Achimota Press 1943) pp. 98-99. cp. Polly Hill "Pan African Fishermen" in "West Africa" Dec. 1963 . Polly Hill speaks of the Anlo coast as "more heavily fished than any other in West Africa."
24. Cape St. Paul is the Light House around which the disease is thought to have started.
25. Westermann D. "The African today and tomorrow

- (Oxford 1949) P.48.
26. Appendix B. No.61.
 27. Nukunya, G.K. : op.cit. P.32. The first few pages of this chapter are very illuminating on the clan system among the Anlo people.
 28. Westermann, D. : op.cit. 1935, P.145
 Ward, B.E. : op.cit. P.74 see also Manoukian, M. op.cit. P.24.
 Nukunya, G.K. : op.cit. P.33
 29. Refer Chap.2 of Nukunya, op.cit, for more on the relationship between the "Blu" and the other Anlo clans. cp.App.B No.47
 30. See e.g. Ward, W.E.F. : "A Short History of Ghana" London 1959. P.133 footnote. Also, Amenumey, D. E.K. : op.cit 1964.
 31. Amenumey, D.E.K. : "It is certain that the Anlo were already well established by 1680 (in their present home) when Ashangmo of Accra was fleeing to Little Popo" P.20. This writer is of the same opinion as Ward, W.E.F. op.cit.
 32. See, e.g. Paul Wiegräbe, Evegbalēxexlē IV Bremen 1938; Fiawoo, D.K. op.cit.
 33. See, e.g. Amenumey and Ward op,cit.
 34. For more on Nyiko custom see Fiawoo, D.K. op.cit P.105 ff, and Fiawoo, F.K. : op.cit 1943, 1947.
 35. Lucas J.O. : The Religion of the Yoruba; quoted by

by Fiawoo D.K. op.cit P.28 Footnote: "Yoruba-speaking people migrated from Egypt and that other West African Peoples, such as the Gã, Ewe, Egun, Ibo must have migrated from different parts of Egypt like the Yorubas."

36. See also Chap. 16 of his book op.cit. 1951 regarding the question of influence of Egypt and the East on West African Religion.
37. See also Amenumey op.cit. P.16. Before settling in their present home the Anlo people were believed to be known as Dogbo people. "Anlo", corrupted from "~~Menlo~~", "I am huddled up, there is no further wandering (Amenumey P.26)" was believed to be an experience of the leader of the Dogbo people. This "experience" has ever since been adopted as the name of the group.
38. Westermann's language similarities are also mentioned by Amenumey. See footnote 1.p.18 of his work.
39. loc. cit. cp. Parrinder E.G. : the Story of Ketu (Ibadan 1956) pp.7-8.
- 40a. Speaking of "The Aboriginal Inhabitants of Ketu" Dr. Parrinder mentions "Another ruined village, called Ewe, a few miles to the north of Ketu" and goes on to say "A human sacrifice was made at the foundation of Ketu of one of the inhabitants of Ewe." op.cit. 1956. P.16.
40. See also Ward, W.E.F. : op.cit. 1958 p.135

41. Unfortunately the national festival could not be celebrated in December 1963 when the field research for this work was in progress. This was because of economic difficulties which resulted from cutting a canal to drain the area of a terrible flood which threatened life. It was, however, celebrated again in 1964. The festival does not appear to be anything occasioned by any religious enthusiasm but by the zeal of bringing together the sons of Angloland to plan for secular development of their homeland. With the exception of libation to the ancestors at the opening of public meetings during the "festival" there are no further observances by way of a communion with the holy.
42. See also Nukunya op.cit. Introduction.
43. See also Nukunya op.cit. P.11.
44. Appendix A. No.25.
45. These two methods of execution in Angloland of the "fathers" have been dramatized by the Rev. Dr. F.K. Fiawoo. Op.cit, is the execution of a criminal subject; and "Fia yi dziehe", the execution of a dictatorial chief, is unpublished.
46. cp. Amenumey, op.cit. pp.23-25. Westermann, op.cit. 1935 pp.181-182 and 245.
47. Appendix B. 12.
48. 1. Evegbal ~~Exe~~ Akpa Enelia (Berlin 1906)
2 Amenumey, op.cit. Appendix II A p.321.

49. Ref. Chap. IV below.

50. Amenumey op.cit. p.24 also Footnote 5.

Obianim, S.J. : Eve Kɔnuwo (London 1957).

C H A P T E R I I

THE SUPREME BEING.

"Mawu" is the Aqlɔ name for the Supreme Being. This same word is used by other Ewe neighbours to designate their Supreme Beings. In a wider sense, "Mawu" is generic symbol for deity and is freely applied to the deities (1) which the Aqlɔ people particularly refer to as "Trɔ̃". Whether the term originated from its use for the Supreme Being or from its generic usage for deity in general is not very easy to say. However, in the first place, the Aqlɔ people believe that the deities have taken on some divine attributes because the Supreme Being created them and then delegated divine authority to them to represent him in the world of men. This belief and Aqlɔ attempts at etymological solution seem to support the view that "Mawu" originated with the Supreme Being and was later adopted as generic symbol for deity.

Many attempts have been made to solve the etymological riddle of "Mawu". The commonest among the Aqlɔ people themselves is "Ema ye wu", "this is the One who surpasses all". Some others are of the opinion that "Mawu" is a combination of a negative particle "ma" and "wu" which may be a superlative particle or a verb meaning "kill". So that on the one hand "Mawu" may mean "the Unbeatable", "the One who excels"; in short, the Omnipotent. On the other hand "Mawu" connotes the idea of "the One who cannot kill"; the bountiful, the kind, the good One. Some other researches (2) into the

etymology of "Mawu" among other Eve peoples appear rather wild guesses which may safely be ignored here. But one fact emerges from all these attempts - "Mawu" is a proper name and it is like some proper names whose real etymology may not be known. Perhaps this may be the outcome of the same unqualified reverence for the divine name that still makes a riddle of the Tetragrammaton of Judaism. In fact it is long lost in the mists of time. However, all these suggested etymological solutions seem to converge on one point - to emphasise the immeasurable and the unsurpassable greatness and goodness of the Supreme Being.

"Mawu", as a personal name, assigns personality to the Being who bears it. So very sharply is the personality of Mawu distinguished from that of everyone and everything else that there is not the likelihood of any confusion in Anl3 thought, even with Dynamism. In a way Mawu is considered a great Power, the source of life. Side by side with this belief is that in the all-pervasive energy which is diffused throughout the world of nature. Unlike this natural potency, largely regarded as impersonal and non-moral, Mawu is a personal and a moral Being. Then the personal Mawu is regarded as the Creator of this impersonal non-moral force. Moreover, the Anl3 witchcraft concept (3) reveals that the witch-spirit is this impersonal force in action. When the witch goes to a night assembly the material body continues to show signs of

life, however faintly, because of the presence of the divine soul believed to be the little bit of Mawu in every person. Every living person has in him this divine or life soul from the Supreme Being. But everyone does not possess the witch-spirit. So that the all-pervasive impersonal power, perhaps the likeliest to occasion such a confusion, cannot be the same as the personal Mawu in the thought of the Anlõman.

In emphasising the personality of the Supreme Being, the Anlõ people tend to saddle him with anthropomorphism. Mawu has sex; he is male. As the Creator and the Sustainer of the universe, he is father. The maker and sustainer of the universe can equally be female. One cannot fail to detect the influence of the social organization of the Anlõ people, a patrilineal society, on their conception of the Supreme Being. Mawu can see and hear because people pray to him. He can act because he answers prayers and also sits in judgement over the deeds of men. All these references about the Supreme Being are not at all unlikely to call into the imagination of the Anlõ people vivid pictures of human form. To them such experiences that they have of their Supreme Being are personal and go to make up what they know personality to be. And the Anlõ conception of personality does not go without anthropomorphism. Indeed in every society the world over, the invisible is apprehended within the compass of that society's own understanding of life and in attempting to describe the indescribable human terms cannot be avoided. It is in this very

universal step that the Anlɔ people tread when they apply anthropomorphic terms to their Supreme Being. They do not at all take Mawu in his Being to be human exactly like themselves. Nor do they regard him like the Akan Nyankopon of Dr. Danquah's research (4) as once a great benevolent ancestor who has ever walked this life in human flesh and form and after his death became deified and later elevated to the position of Supreme importance as a High God. In fact the invisible nature of Mawu is much alive among the Anlɔ people, in their own way of course, as it is anywhere that deity is largely a philosophical concept. Many Anlɔ people have claimed to have seen in dreams for instance, and even in waking life lower spirit beings who have temporarily assumed visible forms. But it is quite remarkable that no such allusions have ever been recorded of the Supreme Being.

"It is only the Christians among us who have dreams about their Mawu. For us, he is too big to appear in dreams. For this purpose he has given us the deities and the ancestors". (5)

The Anlɔ people can never put up with the idea of imagining a corporeal representation made of the Supreme Being let alone the thought of housing him in a building as the Christians do - so they understand it. That the Supreme Being is "Gbogbo" with its implicit idea of invisibility thickly underlined is too widely known and the belief firmly established in Anlɔland. It will, therefore, be the greatest

diservice to a people like the Aqlɔ, despite this strong emphasis on the invisible nature of Mawu to construe their anthropomorphic references to mean the conception of Mawu as a human being. The Aqlɔ people can only feel and experience him through his activities which are personal involving some human passions and senses. They, therefore, picture him as possessing personality, life and consciousness comparable to that of a human person. To the Aqlɔ people, then, Mawu, as the Supreme Being, though personal, has never been nor will he ever be a human being. He is intensely Spirit with human personality where personality does not involve the possession of a form. "Indeed such human features as are given him barely suffice to satisfy the requirements of thought and speech. If he is to be spoken about, or to, he has to be given some human attributes" (6).

In Aqlɔ thought the Supreme Being is not "ya", wind or air, though such references may commonly be heard. More accurately, he is spoken of as like the wind or air. Like other anthropomorphic references this is also a similar figure and it is heavily loaded with ideas. Like the invisible wind, the invisible nature of the Supreme Being is accentuated. Just as the wind is known and its presence felt through its activities, so does the Supreme Being reveal himself and can only be known by what he does. Whence and whither the wind blows, the Aqlɔman confesses his ignorance. Similarly

in his thought are the beginning and end of the Supreme Being. But he knows that the wind blows, "wherever it listeth" detesting vacuum as much as possible. This always reminds him that the Supreme Being, like the wind, is everywhere and cannot in any way be localised. "Like the wind or air (he) is everywhere and being everywhere is here now" (7). When then after a deep reflection over the vicissitudes of human fortune the Aqlɔ̃man utters rather involuntarily a prayerful sigh, "Mawu li," he cannot mean "there is God," though this may be a *sine qua non* implication. In fact he cannot imagine a remark more pointless from the interpreters of his thought. What he simply means, even from the very nature of the circumstances surrounding the utterance, is "God is present," "God is near me" to succour. He has no need at all to walk to any particular place before he can very effectively call upon him as he should in the case of the deities and the ancestors. The following account very aptly stresses the already deep-rooted Aqlɔ̃ belief in the ubiquity of the Supreme Being.

During a formal interview on the Aqlɔ̃ worship of the Supreme Being, the ninety year old Awlosu Avudzegã of Aqlɔ̃gã remarked "My son! Mawu is too big to be put into a small room and worshipped only at that place. In all Aqlɔ̃land it is only the Christians who do this. How can we put into a room a Being we can never see and who is like the wind blowing

everywhere? The deities we are able to house because they reveal themselves to us to see them and are locally connected with us just as other nations have theirs. Indeed I have my doubts if what you Christians worship in your Chapel is not a deity of the whiteman!" The really unexpectedly pungent nature of the remark may make some consider it too refined to come from such a mind. But those who know the Aql3 people very well, especially this old man, widely respected for his intelligence, integrity of life and knowledge of traditional beliefs and practices, can only admire the comparative ease with which the remark was made and never doubt its source. At any rate, the old man has put together very tersely here the Aql3 conception of the omnipresence and the invisible nature of the Supreme Being.

A passing comment. The sharp allusion to Christianity demands a serious thought especially *from* those who live by that faith. "Du bubu menyia du bubu fe Kɔ o." "One nation is not made (by God) to observe the customs of another." This is a saying popularized by the old man in question, and which cherishes his evergreen memory in Aql3ga especially - He died a traditional believer, from heart attack two weeks after my formal interview with him. The saying was a usual reference he used to make whenever he was confronted with the question of conversion to Christianity. Of course he was justified. The worship which the Christians accorded their God, as he

knew and understood it practised around him, was nothing different from his worship of Anlo deities. Perhaps he might even have thought the Anlɔ Supreme Being higher in status than the God of the Christians! This indeed is the inevitably horrifying price that too much emphasis placed by Christians on worship in chapels - religiosity rather than true religion - will continue to pay in the backland villages of Africa among the thoughtful who do not look upon Christianity as a fashion in vogue for the civilized in a community, but who wish for a reasonable appraisal of the faith before making up their mind.

Though the Supreme Being is Spirit and, like the wind, is believed to be present here and now, yet he is also considered to be far away in the sky. The Anlɔman's prayerful sigh of "Mawu li" "God is near," paradoxically, may usually be accompanied by a spontaneous raising up of the eyes at times together with the second finger of one hand towards the sky - in his thought the highest possible point that can be imagined. "That big man up there", pointing his second finger to the sky, is the remark from others when a person's suffering - sorcerers especially in their last days on earth - is believed to be the judgement of the Supreme Being. Again this sky reference is another anthropomorphic figure pregnant with ideas. To the Anlɔ people, the created have homes where they dwell. Why not he who has made homes? He must, therefore

have his abode at a place befitting his status as the highest and the greatest Being. In short, while the Supreme Being as Spirit like the wind seeks to stress clearly Anlɔ̃ conception of his immanence, his home far away in the sky accentuates his transcendental greatness.

It is worth noting that the Anlɔ̃ people are spared the trouble of confusing their Supreme Being with any of the natural phenomena of the sky partly because they do not use the same word for him and any of the natural phenomena, like Nyɔ̃ɔ̃mɔ̃ of the Gã of West Africa, which means God and rain (8). And partly because the worshipful natural phenomena of the sky, like Thunder-god, So, are referred to explicitly as "Mawu fe dɔlawo" "the messengers of the Supreme Being."

Mawu as Spirit is considered the breath or life that sustains man. The Anlɔ̃ conception of the soul (9) reveals that the real animating principle in the complex soul is 'Gbɔgbɔ' life or divine soul which is the little bit of Mawu in every person. When the divine soul leaves the body death occurs. After death it returns to its source, the Supreme Being. It later comes back to be joined to another personality soul for another earthly existence.

In Anlɔ̃ thought the universe took its origin from the Supreme Being. In prayers to the deities and the ancestors he is "Mawu dɔ ame dɔa" (10) "God who has sent man into the world." He is also "Aɔaɔuwɔtɔ wɔ asi wɔ afo." (11). "The

Craftsman who has made hand and foot." In everyday language, he is "Wola", the Maker.

The Supreme Being as "Aḍaḡuwoto" sheds some light on the Aḡlḡ conception of the art of creation. In ordinary speech "aḍaḡuwoto" is used of craftsmen - smiths, carvers, masons, potters even tailors; in fact all those whom the Aḡlḡ people regard as relying upon their own ingenuity or creative ability to evolve something beautiful and useful from an otherwise useless thing. As "Aḍaḡuwoto", then, the Supreme Being is more particularly a Moulder, a Constructor, giving form to a formless matter as a potter, for instance, does.

This formless matter is often thought to be clay. "What a durable clay has Mawu used in moulding him!" is the appreciative remark from others when the aged engage in activities not thought as normally possible at their age. Also the verb "me" in Aḡlḡ is used when reference is made to the Supreme Being as Creator. This verb, in common usage, connotes the idea of the use of clay or soil. A potter is "zemela" "one who moulds pots" and "kpemela" is he who moulds bricks. In addition when life ceases in man on earth, it is believed, the component parts go back to their sources of origin - the personality soul to the post-earthly spirit world and the life soul to the Supreme Being. The physical body, the Aḡlḡ people realize, decomposes into earth - clay - which logically speaking may be its origin.

What is the origin of this formless clay that the Aql3 people suppose to have been used in creation? "As for this we can never know. But as the Maker of everything he may have made this clay himself." This is the usual reply when the thoughtful are pressed for an answer. In fact the Aql3man can never give any more dubious answer than this to questions on his religion. This uncertainty concerning the origin of this primeval clay is unique not in the sense that it expresses doubt about the Supreme Being as its Maker. Indeed to the Aql3man everything that is known of creation must have its origin from the Supreme Being directly or indirectly. Where the uniqueness lies is in the unqualified confession of man's abysmal ignorance on the one hand against the wisdom of the Supreme Being "which passes all understanding."

Creation the Aql3 people do not think was by a divine fiat. It is the works of the "hands" of the Supreme Being. At the same time it is "ex nihilo" if only this cryptic phrase is understood to mean the Supreme Being, as the Creator of everything in the universe, himself created his own formless matter, clay, which he used to fashion the universe.

Creation is as the Supreme Being wills it. - It is the outcome of his own intelligence. In Aql3land especially among the illiterate folk who form the bulwark of traditional believers anyone who wants to build a house for instance just calls in a mason and shows him a plot of land. Without a

set plan, the mason builds. So also do tailors who do not take any measurements. So that when the Aql3man applies a word originally used for their craftsmen to the Supreme Being, allied ideas may not be absent. It is the will of the Supreme Being that some should be black, others white, some tall others short, some rich others poor, some honest others dishonest. Everything is known to him and predestined to some extent according to his wish.

The complex soul in Aql3 thought is referred to as "amea quto", the real person. This is a pointer to another strand in the Aql3 conception of the art of creation. The Supreme Being is believed to have first made "wo" - a verb that is abstractly vague in its usage - the spirit counterpart of the universe. From this later evolved the material. Every person, more especially his personality soul, is regarded as living in the spirit world prior to his birth into the material. A person's successful material existence must, as far as possible reflect his pre-earthly spiritual existence. After death the personality soul returns to the spirit world - the post-earthly part of it. Thence, according to the Aql3 conception of reincarnation, a personality soul comes back into the material world. "We have come here to sell our products. When anyone finishes, he must return home" is the usual remark when a person dies. Implicit here is the view that it is the spirit world that is real and the

material a later and a shadowy reflexion of the former. Perhaps it is worth noting too that the name for the post-earthly spirit world means "where I live for ever," my real home. So that side by side with the Anl3 view which regards the Supreme Being as moulding the universe from clay is a more refined one which pictures the Supreme Being as first making a Spirit indestructible World from which a material counterpart, the unreal, evolved.

If these two views are both original to Anl3 thought, the cruder view of the Supreme Being as a Moulder may probably be the earlier one. Then later probably the people reflected on the shortness of their life span in the material world, which indeed is comparatively very short, - the obvious outcome of poor conditions of life prevalent in developing countries. Added to this is the idea of reincarnation which thinks of man's material existences as occasional visits from his real home in the spirit world, So that the transitoriness of material existence and the idea of reincarnation may have played a part to establish at a time out of mind the view that the Supreme Being made a spirit world from which the material counterpart evolved.

A "Biblical" view of creation is recognizable here - one much like the second in Gen3sis 2 and the other like the neo-platonist reflected in the Epistle to the Hebrews. While not rejecting the possibility of missionary influence (12) it

may be equally wrong to consider all as the outcome of missionary influence. If scholars (13) nowadays often consider dated the idea of a High God or Supreme Being in Africa as the result of missionary activities, it does not make sense if an African people like the Anlɔ are not considered worthy of participating in the inevitable corollary of a High God belief - namely the universal restless inquiry into the origin and purpose of the activities of this God. At any rate, two main views, as already noted, are now in existence in Anlɔ thought. So much widely are they known and so easily are they referred to that they seem much earlier known in the life of the Anlɔ people famous for their conservatism especially in matters of religion.

There do not seem to be any creation myths at all in Anlɔ thought. Stories (14) which speak of Creation and the Fall recorded in some Eve reading books by German missionaries probably might have been collected particularly from other Eve neighbours and generalisation for Eve speaking peoples must naturally include the Anlɔ Eve people too. The elderly among the Anlɔ people, who are much nearer the distant past and who possess some reasonable knowledge of Anlɔ traditional beliefs and practices, could not recollect any such stories. Also not in existence are any details about the sequence and the way man, woman, and any other things in creation came into being. The Supreme Being is the Creator of all. This is

enough The details are unimportant For they do not appear to the Anlɔman to affect his life for better or for worse. But even if these myths and creation stories had ever been known in Anlɔland but were long forgotten in the history of the people; it just means these details are unimportant to them. However the Anlɔ people feel that the Supreme Being created the universe in a way that can make life possible for man. "If this were not so how could he have made herbs the knowledge of which prolongs life here?" affirms the 80 year old Chief Adrakpanya II of Afife village, much respected for his knowledge of herbs.

Death is also believed to be the creation of the Supreme Being. This is not so much a logical deduction from the idea that the Supreme Being is the source of everything It is categorically stated Man is a trader away from home in the material world. He must return home, that is die, when his wares are sold out. Death is the inevitable gateway to the life beyond. A popular legend in Anlɔ thought affirms this. Tsali the deified ancestor of the Tsiamé clan, was believed to be a supernaturally powerful man in his earthly days. So powerful was he that he attempted to enter the life beyond without first dying. He was believed turned back when he got to the bank of the river that is believed to separate the material world from the land of the dead. He came back and died before he was admitted into the society of those in the

beyond. Then too the Aql3 people believe that the last item in the destiny that a personality soul brings to the material world is the manner of his death through which he returns home. And destiny comes from the Supreme Being who is "Segbo" "The Great Destiny" - the Great Determiner of life. But death is also unnatural, not ordered by the Supreme Being but brought about by wicked and evil spirit powers and men. "That may be due not to the evil deeds of any human being. It seems that his days on earth are finished" (15). This is part of a prayer offered during a minor stool festival and had reference to the death of one of the prominent elders of the Evifeme clan. It tersely sums up the Aql3 belief that death is both ordained by the Supreme Being and can be caused by evil people.

The name of the Supreme Being appears in some personal theophorous names. Some refer to him as the Almighty; Mawunyegã "God is the greatest One." Others speak of him as the source of all goodness; "Mawunyo" "God is good," "God is kind"; "Mawunyo" may also mean "God is just", that is, he is a moral being on the side of fair-play. Others point to his Omnipresence as "Mawuli" "God is near". When "Mawusi" "in the hands of God" appears it testifies to the sustaining Providence of the Supreme Being "Mawunya" and "Mawunu" both mean "this is the decision or the work of God." The grandmother of the Chief of Afife village was called Mawunu. The mother of Mawunu and her co-wife were both pregnant about the

same time. The co-wife had her unborn baby magically protected with "fuke" and "fuli," charms against abortion by evil powers. Mawunu, yet unborn, was not protected thus. At birth she survived and the magically protected was a still born baby. Hence the name "Mawunu" "this is the doing of God" In other words, when all other powers fail, the Supreme Being succeeds. He is also the great Protector of the helpless. A "Mawufe" "from the abode of God" is a child believed to be part of the parents' destiny. The name also points to the Supreme Being as in control of destiny with its implicit idea of Omniscience.

Some present day Anlɔ people consider "Se" as another name for the Supreme Being. This appears a peculiarity of the Christian element for the large majority of the traditional believers are not aware of this. In traditional thought "Se" is originally the deity in control of destiny, and, destiny differing from man to man, makes the worship of Se intensely a personal affair. In some Anlɔ personal names Se appears - Semaɔɔ, Sefe, Senanu. Traditional believers strongly affirm that such names have reference to their personal destiny, a personal deity akin to a guardian angel. Some Anlɔ Christians remark that Se in the names they give their children means the Supreme Being. Of course the Supreme Being, as he who has delegated his authority to the deities, thus referred to, may be pardonable. But this appears a very recent development and cannot safely be regarded as a genuine element in the

traditional religion of the Aqlɔ people.

Yet Se is used to refer to the Supreme Being in genuine traditional thought. However, in quite a different way from the use the Christians make of it. Whenever this occurs, it is always compounded with "gbo" and always appears in the phrase "Mawu Segbo Lisa." "God the Great Determiner of Destiny, the Head Source." Segbo and Lisa are not original Aqlɔ words. They probably were acquired during the westward journey of the Aqlɔ people to their present home. In Fon language (16) "Se" is soul and "Gbo" great. Segbo in Fon means the Great Soul which is used by the Aqlɔ people to mean the Great Destiny or the Great Determiner of Destiny. Some are of the opinion that 'Se' here is real Aqlɔ meaning law, boundary or order. These people have not convincingly given the derivative of "gbo". In the end "Se" is translated Destiny. This may be true! But "Segbo" as of Fon origin fits in better because of the original Fon meaning and the adapted Aqlɔ usage. "Lisa" is a rare word for chameleon in Aqlɔ language and the chameleon itself is a symbol of transitoriness because of its protective coloration. But the Aqlɔ people know "Mawu" as a constant Being. "Lisa" cannot have easily originated in this way. "Lisa" may perhaps be a corruption of the Yoruba "Orise", Head-Source, if Dr. Idowu's discovery is valid (17). Of course Yoruba words that have crept into the Aqlɔ language have "r" usually changed into "l"

and an initial vowel omitted. For example Yoruba "Iwori" is "woli" in Anlo Afa divination. "Segbo" and "Lisa" are more of praise names for the Supreme Being than other names. They are very rarely used; even when they are used, it is mainly by the priests. In about 100 ritual recitals preserved in this work it appeared in only one and once only while "Mawu" alone appeared more than ten times. This is all because of the purpose which praise names serve in Anlo traditional life. They are invocational presupposing an organized cultic worship. "Amlafofo", "Invocation", really means "singing or reciting praises" during worship. So that it is only the deities who have names which may be conveniently described as praise-names by which their presence is invoked during worship. Praise names like "Afisiafinola" the Omnipresent "Dusëkatäto", the Omnipotent, "Nusianunyala", the Omniscient and "Amenuvela" the Merciful, as used for the Supreme Being, many traditional believers affirm, originated with the dawn of Christianity and, indeed, are used only in Christian worship. However, it would be wrong to suppose that the Supreme Being has not these attributes in Anlo thought in the light of personal names like "Mawunyegä" "God is the Greatest One" and "Mawuli" "God is near." The Anlo people do not, therefore, have any names for their Supreme Being apart from "Mawu". Neither have they any praise-names to be sufficiently thus styled.

Some Anlɔ sayings also help reveal some facts about the conception of the Supreme Being. "Mawu meɔina na dzoɔuameto o" "God never helps a sorcerer" was the remark from a priest in Anlɔgã when a suspected sorcerer was overheard calling upon the name of the Supreme Being. The Supreme Being is here pictured as a Being in an ethical relationship with mankind. "Mawu medzia vi wuna o," "God can never destroy his own child." - The Supreme Being is a loving father who pardons. "Lã mato asike Mawue nyaã tagbatsutsu ne," "It is God who drives away the flies from the animal which has no tail.." This saying points to the Providence of the Supreme Being. In other words, the Creator is not, in Anlɔ thought, an absentee God who has wound up the world like a clock once and for all and allowed it to work on its own. He exercises a constant supervision over the universe and he is in an intensely personal relationship with man.

If the Anlɔ people believe that the Supreme Being is a Judge in control of the moral order, it otherwise means he demands a certain conduct from man towards him. "God does not help a sorcerer." A sorcerer in Anlɔ thought is a wicked person who does harm to his neighbours in a situation in which his action is legally as well as morally wrong. In other words, for the Anlɔman to be right with the Supreme Being he must of necessity be right with his fellow men. Then the deities and the ancestors, the Anlɔ people believe,

the Supreme Being has made to help man on his behalf. They must appear to man in dreams and direct steps later to be taken in life. They must carry man's petitions in prayer to the Supreme Being and bring back abundant life (18) So that another demand that the Supreme Being makes upon man is to fulfil his obligations to his deities and ancestors.

If worship is understood to mean an organized cultus, involving priesthood, shrines and temples, prescribed rituals and ceremonies, feasts and sacrifices directly offered to the object of man's supernatural reverence and devotion, then there is no worship of the Supreme Being among the Aqlɔ people at all. The Aqlɔ people lay a very great emphasis on the invisible nature and the omnipresence of the Supreme Being. He is Spirit like the wind and never reveals his form to man to see. The Aqlɔ people, therefore, have no corporal representation made of him with the result that throughout the length and breadth of Aqlɔland no images of Mawu exist. It naturally follows that there can never be any Mawu shrines and temples since these are primarily meant to house the symbolic representations of the deities to which they are dedicated. It should not also be expected to find any organized priesthood of the Supreme Being in Aqlɔland neither should there be any special ceremonies, rituals, feasts and sacrifices in his honour. So that whenever one finds groups

of people or individuals engaged in any formal activities involving a supernatural being anywhere in Anlɔland, it is never the Supreme Being but either the deities or the ancestors that are the objects of such attention.

If "prayer is worship" (19) however simple this prayer may be whether a single word spoken at any time, at any place, and in any manner that best suits the supplicant then the Anlɔ people give the Supreme Being a direct worship. "Mawu!" "God!" ; "ne Mawu ɔi nam mahaya" "If God wills, I shall recover"; "Mawu nefo mf" "May God wake us up." These are samples of direct prayer offered Mawu especially when the Anlɔ people feel the power of the deities are of no avail. The Supreme Being is the last court of appeal - The universe prototype of the Anlɔ Awoamefia - the Pa^{ra}mount ruler, who in the olden days, was veiled from the sight of all and seen only in very serious cases when divisional rulers could not offer any solution.

Incidentally this seemingly "disrespectful" worship of the Supreme Being is deeper, weightier and more sincere than any elaborate one offered the deities and the ancestors. For such prayers to the Supreme Being are final and very desperate attempts the failure of which, it is believed, brings destruction from which nothing else can save. In the very figurative language of the people, direct worship is offered Mawu "When you have been suddenly intercepted and completely surrounded

by robbers" - "ne adzo tso wò". This explains why prayers as communion with the Supreme Being are largely personal and casual needing no special cultic persons, nor acts, perhaps, to delay succour. After all, in desperation, spontaneity is very largely, if not always, the rule.

Yet there is also an indirect worship of the Supreme Being where sacrifices appear offered to him. "Take it to the abode of Mawu that it becomes abundant life to return to us" (20). "He has come here with a very large bottle of gin and a large sum of money. He has asked me to give them to you to be taken together with all that destroy life, to the abode of Mawu, the Creator, leave them there and in return bring him all that make for abundant life" (21). These two extracts come from prayers offered in the shrine of the ancestors and of a deity respectively. They show that the Supreme Being also receives offerings. Asked why these offerings could not be sent directly to the Supreme Being, the priest of L3afe Sui remarked "Why do you not give yourself this gift you have brought, directly to grandmother (his deity). But you have asked me to do it on your behalf. As I am the servant of grandmother so is grandmother too the servant of Mawu; and any gifts to Mawu must pass through her by all means." In answer to the question why part of the gifts supplicants originally intend for grandmother should be offered to the Supreme Being the same priest said "The

abundant life you want through this gift is right in the abode of the Supreme Being. Just as you cannot come before grandmother without a votive offering grandmother too cannot go for the abundant life from the abode of the Supreme Being with empty hands " The priestess Logosi of Woe further explained that when the deities and the ancestors appeared before the Supreme Being to demand blessings, the votive gifts represented the supplicants on whose behalf such demands were made. For supplicants themselves could not appear before him in person. These two ritual specialists are not alone in the conception of worship accorded the Supreme Being through the deities and the ancestors. They represent the majority view - that the Supreme Being receives part of all sacrifices to and he is prayed to through the deities and the ancestors. For it is from him that these lower spirit powers receive all good gifts which they shower on man.

In the conception of the Supreme Being here recorded any such Being among other people even of the same Eve cultural group, who is not similarly regarded, the Anlɔman cannot put on the same level as his own . He may have the same name "Mawu" but when he has a corporeal representation made of him as Dr. Parrinder (22) discovered at Agbomey in Dahomey, or when he is paired with a wife and children begotten in the human way as J. Spieth (23) noticed in the Agu mountains of the Republic of Togo, to the Anlɔman, he is a Being lower in

status to his Mawu. When a shrine is dedicated to him as the Nyame of the Ashanti people and worship directly given him in a shrine, the Aqlɔman may hesitate to place such a High God on the same footing as his own. The High God may even belong^{to} the "higher" religions. But if the worship accorded him is different from how he knows it of the High God, he wastes no time to condemn it even if it is Christianity. Once the Aqlɔman sees worship too much confined to Chapels he concludes the Being worshipped there cannot be the same as, if not inferior to, the High God he knows. Paul Wiegräbe records (24) a question asked by a traditional believer in the very early days of Christianity. This man demanded to know if the object of Christian worship, Jesus, was the same as Nyigblɔ the Aqlɔ national deity. - Simply, from the nature of the Christian worship he saw the object of Christian devotion in special places could only be parallel to his deities; as another traditional believer was to remark a century later. But anyone who excludes the Aqlɔ people from the Worldwide conception of God as one but differently apprehended by various peoples, may be overlooking the representative remark made by one of their number when speaking with particular reference to dreams, on the relationship between the Christian Mawu and the Aqlɔ Mawu. - "Both are the same but for us he is too big to appear in dreams" (25).

NOTES: Chapter II

1. "Deities" is specially adopted in this work - see the next chapter. The singular, however, in the present chapter, except otherwise stated, connotes the usual idea of "divinity" in general - i.e. the holy.
2. Smith, E.W. op.cit. (1950 ed.) pp.230-231
3. For Anlo witchcraft refer Chap.V. below.
4. Danquah, J.B. : The Akan Doctrine of God
(Lutterworth Press 1944) P.27. cp. Smith, E.W. : op.cit.
(1950 ed.) P.28.
5. Anaglate Afetogbo, an elder of the Bamee clan
at Anlògã, speaking on dreams.
6. Evans-Pritchard, E.E. : Nuer Religion (Oxford 1956)
P.7.
7. Ibid. P.9
8. Field, M.J. : Religion and Medicine of the Gã People
Oxford (reprinted) 1961 P.211, pp.61-63.
9. For Anlo conception of the soul refer Chap.VIII below
10. See e.g. App. A.no 61.
11. See e.g. App. A.no.81
12. See Chap. I above for an example of a conscious
effort of some Anlo people to thrust Biblical
incidents into their traditional history - The "Belebele"
tradition of origin.
13. Parrinder, E.G. : op.cit. (revised 1961) pp.13-14

Also Smith, E.W. : op.cit (1950 ed.) Introduction.
 Modern researches have unearthed that the idea of
 God is native to the Ewe people - the larger cultural
 unit to which the Anlo people belong in West Africa.

14. Wiegräbe, Paul : Ewegbalẽxexlẽ, Akpa Evelia.
15. App. B No.2.
16. Parrinder, E.G. : op.cit. 1951. See also Smith,
 E.W. : op.cit (1950 ed.) pp.231-232
17. Idowu, E.B. : Olodumare, God in Yoruba
 Belief (Longmans 1962) P.171.
18. App. B No.21, 22, 23 for ancestors. No.50, 59,
 61, 81 for the deities.
19. Parrinder, E.G. : op.cit. 1961 P.23
20. App.B. No.21.
21. App. B. No.50
22. Parrinder, E.G. : op.cit. (revised 1961) P.17. See
 also Smith, E.W. : op.cit. (1950 ed.) P.12.
23. Caldow, W.J. : Translation of part of J. Spieth's
 "Religion der Eweer in Süd Togo". (Unpublished)
 Mr. Caldow was once an Assistant District Commissioner
 of Anlo-land. Footnotes in his translation show that
 he did some research among the Anlo people.
24. Wiegräbe, Paul : Ewe Kristo Hame Dutinya
 (Bremen 1936) P.10.
25. Refer note 5 above

CHAPTER III

THE CULT OF THE DEITIES

Existing side by side with the Aqlɔ belief in a Supreme Being is that in a multitude of personal spirit beings for whom the term "deities" has been adopted in this work. It is not the object of this chapter to present a historical catalogue of all Aqlɔ deities each with its cult minutely described. The intention rather is to take a look at the general approach of the Aqlɔ traditional believer by way of worship to his deities as this is revealed mainly in ceremonies studied. However, important variations in worship which may shed light on particular Aqlɔ religious beliefs will be singled out and discussed.

There are various generic terms which the Aqlɔ people use to designate the deities. The commonest is "trɔ" which is also similarly used by other Ewe neighbours especially in Ghana (1) Vodun is another generic term. For the Aqlɔ people to particularize this term for deities which they think have invaded Aqlɔland from the now Republics of Togo and Dahomey, may suggest a similar origin for the term. - (2) Researches of scholars in Togo and Dahomey show that "vodun" is one common generic term for deities at these places. - Da and So cults in Aqlɔland have secret languages with which a Fon speaker is quite at home. Afetoku cult of the Aqlɔ people has its home located at Akplaxoe in Dahomey and Aduku cult at Akpadafe in Togo. To the Aqlɔ people, the deities of these cults are all

"voduwo" (plural). There is, however, an extended use of vodu. The Aqlɔ people have adopted it to include deities, no matter what their country of origin, who may be worshipped at the same time in more than one shrine and whose major gateway to cult membership is initiation which does not take into account the question of blood relation. Here may be mentioned Kunde (3) Kwaku, Blekete, Aflam, Fofui and Agbo cults some of which are believed to have been introduced into Aqlɔland from Northern Ghana through Ashanti and northern Eueland.

The Aqlɔ people also know the deities as "de". Not infrequently, this term is also proverbially applied to the ancestors in a transferred sense to mean the holy in general. But this term does not seem to form part of the everyday vocabulary in a way that "trɔ" and "vodu" are used. Save for its use in a few personal theophorous names like "Denu" and "Denyo", "de" appears rather ritualistic now; that is, its use is restricted to ritual during worship when it becomes necessary to make use of a generic term to designate deity in general.

No time will be spent on etymological analysis of "trɔ", "vodu" and "de", for this does not appear known to the Aqlɔ people themselves. Even if this has ever been known at all it is now forgotten presumably from a time out of mind. Moreover, the Aqlɔ people do not seem to lavish their religious zeal on speculative reverence nor do they take the etymology

of divine terminologies to be sine qua non to the religious attitude. "As for this I do not know. But what grandmother Tomi and grandfather Nyigblā do for us, this I can tell you." This is the answer of Adzaxo, the 70 year old elder of the Adzovia clan in Anlōgā when he was pressed for an etymology of the words in question. In a similar vein the 80 year old chief of Afife remarked "My son! do you mean that without etymology you cannot understand what grandfather Nyigblā does for us?" The question of etymology had better be dropped here.

But some other generic terms have a substantial contribution to make towards a better understanding of Anlō religious thought. These are "fia" and "mawuvi". "Fia" in Anlō means a chief, a king - a ruler. As "fia", a deity is looked upon as the ruler of his worshippers. "Mawuvi" means "child of God". This latter reference to the deities is not primarily to their origin as created beings from the Supreme Being. In fact this the Anlōman accepts without question about anything that is known to him in the world. It is rather a functional allusion, namely, the deities shoulder the responsibility of attending to man's day-to-day needs which, in the sight of the Supreme Being, are too trivial for his own attention. In their discharge of this duty, the deities in Anlō thought, are more of vicegerents than sovereigns. For the authority they exercise in the world of men is a delegated one from the

Supreme Being. Limited as this authority is thought to be, the deities are reduced to the level of intermediaries between the Supreme Being and his created world. The deities have no power of their own neither have they anything of their own with which to make life worth living for their worshippers. All the abundant life the Anlɔ people are continually demanding from the deities whenever they go down on their knees, the Anlɔ people fully know the deities also go to collect from the Supreme Being each time men ask for them. For during worship in the shrines of the deities indeed of the ancestors as well, a priest may be heard explicitly imploring the deities to go for abundant life from the Supreme Being (4). If then the Anlɔ priest in prayer refers to a deity as the owner and giver of material blessings (5) he and other worshippers are aware that however much they may, through these allusions, glorify a deity, he is still only the bearer and not the ultimate source of these good gifts.

Almost all Anlɔ deities who are the pivot of organized cults are mainly roving spirits which temporarily inhabit objects with which they may not be exclusively connected (6). The temporary abode may be a natural unwrought object of the earth's surface. "Blolui" at Anlɔga dwells in a lake, and Sasinyeme in a creek which runs through a village of the same name 'Kovi' lives in an ant-hill at Bleamezãdo while Zivi and Lãko have chosen to inhabit groves at Klomekpota and

Tregui respectively Atito, the tutelary deity of a village which goes by the same divine name may rather be satisfied with occupying a hollow tree trunk which, worshippers believe, floated for sometime in the lagoon and was later beached on the shores of their village. Some others of the deities may prefer to abide in man-made objects. Legba and Se are delighted to inhabit a clayey image in human form. An ordinary drinking type of calabash is enough to house Kla, the personal guardian deity of Blu clan members. At other times a pole few feet high may suffice to symbolize the object of the Anlɔman's reverence and supernatural devotion. In this respect may be mentioned Gbe, one tutelary deity of the Amlade clan. Avadatsɪ of the Lɔafe clan may be contented to reside in a six foot iron spear while Nyigblã, the Anlɔ national deity, is said to dwell in a large flat brazen pan "ayawagba". These are the deities classed "polytheistic" in this work.

Additionally, there is a widespread belief in Anlɔland that all objects in the universe both organic and inorganic have each a personal spirit which is worthy of worshipful reverence should the need arise. A fisherman before putting out to sea may be seen addressing his boat loaded with nets, soon to be followed by the breaking of an egg as a sacrifice on the front part of the boat. It is not at all unusual that during the annual festival of both the polytheistic deities and the ancestors, instruments which feature in worship are given an

attention tantamount to supernatural reverence and devotion. The "atopa" drums (7) which boomed the praises of the ancestors during the minor stool festival studied for this work were ceremonially bathed, anointed and two fowls specially sacrificed to them - much in the same way as the ancestors were treated that day. The Aqlɔ people strongly believe that these spirits must be worshipped before their physical representations can effectively discharge the duties required of them. A disaster at sea when fishing, or a terrible run of misfortunes following a seemingly successful annual festival of the polytheistic deities, or the ancestors the diviners may not hesitate to attribute to the neglect of these personal spirit powers. Because this supernatural reverence is a manifestation of the animistic tendency among the Aqlɔ people, the spirit powers involved are styled "animistic" in this thesis.

The annual visit to the sacred groves of Tomi and Sui at Blamezãdo and Tregui respectively is also the working of the animistic blood in the veins of the Aqlɔ people. But this reverence falls into a special category and needs singling out. The groves are regarded as the places of theophany for these two deities. Though the deities are now housed at Aqlɔgã, these groves have become hallowed spots clearly marked off from profane use. To catch a glimpse of how much the deities mean in the lives of the Aqlɔ traditional

believers, one only has to join in a yearly pilgrimage to these groves. Cult servants and their friends turn up in large numbers from all corners of Aql3land. For in these sacred groves, and for that matter once a year only, worshippers are at liberty to present personally to their deities the needs they severally want supplied during the ensuing year. This is "godziyiyi." It is the idea of pilgrimage involved and the form of worship by the pilgrims at the goal of their pilgrimage which hints at personal religion, however crude this may be judged, that place this animistic reverence in a category by itself. A closer look is taken at the whole practice of "godziyiyi" later in this chapter.

The natural phenomena of the sky do not seem to invoke any concertedly enthusiastic religious attitude in the heart of the Aql3 people. The sun is not worshipped. Nor are the moon and the stars. Thunder, however, is personified under the name of So and the rainbow, Da. But these are worshipped by a comparative minority of the willing in the community and the cultic activities are secret, being most jealously guarded.

Tsali is one Aql3 deity almost unanimously regarded as a divinised ancestor. Legends still circulate about his superhuman activities while still a mortal, culminating in his attempt to enter the land of the dead without first passing through the portals of death. He is believed to have been deified primarily because of his magical powers Asife (8)

is similarly regarded by the Eufeme clan who worship her.

At the base of ~~the hierarchy of~~ the deities are some others who are considered as charms which have become so powerful that they pass imperceptibly to the divine status with cultic acts developed around them. Any Aqlɔ deity, one of whose principal annual festival rites is the changing of herbs (9) to revitalize the deity's power, is an example of "dzozutrɔ" "a charm that has become a deity" in Aqlɔ religion. Examples are Kwaku, Afetoku, and Agbo cults.

One inevitable corollary in Aqlɔ thought to the belief in the deities as vicegerents of the Supreme Being requires a special note. Environment, as noted in an earlier chapter (10), imposes amazing differences on all forms of religion even those in the same "lower" or "higher" group. But to the Aqlɔ people these differences in the religious attitude are not primarily the outcome of environment. It is simply because the Supreme Being in his capacity as the Creator and Sustainer of the world has chosen to assign particular deities to different social groups. Localised then as the deities are, so the Aqlɔ people believe, they claim a priority of worship from those to whose care and protection they are to attend. To give up completely one's deities for the worship of other people's is not a thing that devout Aqlɔ traditional believers can ever imagine let alone do. Faced with such a problem they may be heard dismissing the question proverbially "Du bubu

'menyia du bubu fe ko o" "One nation is not made (by God) to observe the customs of the other"

But this does not mean that the **Aqlɔ̃** traditional believer despises deities other than his own. Rather, he fully gives all known deities the worship that is their due and, should the need arise, he adds them to his own pantheon. But before any such addition is made a recourse must of necessity be made to Afa divination to ask for the approval of the "duatowo" "the rulers of the land" that is, the established **Aqlɔ̃** deities. Hence for a long time "Tigare" cult from Northern Ghana struggled to gain a foothold in **Aqlɔ̃gã** because the "rulers of the land" opposed this. Till today Dente of Krachi in northern Ewe land has not been able to know any organized cultic activities on **Aqlɔ̃** soil. On the other hand, **Nyigblã**, believed to be of foreign origin, became established and quickly worked its way to a position of supreme importance in the **Aqlɔ̃** pantheon because, so the people themselves hold, "the rulers of the land" agreed to concede that status to him.

Within the **Aqlɔ̃** society itself different social groups worship one another's deities. Sui and Tomi worshippers, for instance, on their annual pilgrimage pass the shrines of all the deities on the route - Agbonufia at Atito and Zivi at Klomekpota for example - and offer prayer and sacrifice. Even in towns and villages where there are more than one

principal Aqlɔ deity - as in Aqlɔgã - festivals are so organized that the principal rites of the various deities do not clash. This makes it possible for one group to honour the deities of the other. The main rites of Gbe and Avadatsɪ are performed on the same day. The former's rites are restricted to the forenoon and the latter's to the afternoon. Tɔmɪ worshippers go on their annual pilgrimage eight days - two four-day weeks - after Sui worshippers Nyigblã rites begin on the last day of the celebrations of the last clan deity because this deity is the national deity

This religious tolerance from the Aqlɔ people seems to have but one main aim. - To satisfy all known deities more especially those deities which they believe, the Supreme Being has particularly allotted them so as not to evoke the displeasure of any. The fate of Gbugblã, the original home of the Aqlɔ national deity, the Aqlɔ traditional believer always cites as a punishment for impiety and wilful neglect of one's traditional holy. This village was believed to be destroyed by fire and has never since been rebuilt because the inhabitants had not only given up the worship of Nyigbla but also dishonoured him by giving him a hot bath with real boiling water. Also the monologue (11), intended as a prayer, delivered_{by} the Ahakua, the assistant priest of Nyigblã, during the 1964 annual festival, was a poignant appeal to remind the Aqlɔ people and the Central Government of the dangers

consequent upon a wilful neglect of one's tutelary deities.

At this point, it may not be difficult to understand why, in the early days of Christianity in Anloiland, one traditional believer was filled with holy wrath and had to reject the worship of Christ in a correspondingly irreverent language when a German missionary called on his heathen audience to substitute the worship of Christ for that of their national deity. Doubtless, the missionary might have referred to Christ as the Son of God, "Mawuvi" and the "rude" traditional believer also regarded Nyigblā as a "child of God" much the same as Christ. To him and indeed to all Anlɔ traditional believers, as Nyigblā is the child of God to the Anlɔ people, so is Christ to the whitemen. So that the sincere traditional believer will worship Christ if only he is allowed to add him to his pantheon. In this respect the traditional believer is better off than the hypocritical Anlɔ Christian who, through his oscillation between his tutelary deities and Christ, has, perhaps unknowingly in practice given full expression to a belief that is deep down in his blood - peaceful co-existence of religions. So that any attitude of intolerance from the devout traditional believer towards Christianity is engendered by Christian intolerance itself - the same reciprocity which is the keynote of tolerance in Anlɔ traditional religion.

Cult membership for some of the deities requires special initiation ceremony. The one specially studied was that of

the deity Aduḍu at Anl3gã on the 17th of December 1963. A desperate father brought his 17 year old daughter who had been ill for the previous nine months but could not be cured by either herbalists or doctors. Having learnt that mere initiation into Aduḍu cult was cure enough, he had brought the daughter with the initiation requirements; an amount of four shillings and a penny, a male fowl, a pint each of palm oil, gin and palm wine, cornflour and about two tablespoonfuls of gunpowder. The priest made a recourse to Afa divination which proclaimed the day auspicious for the rites. On her knees before the symbolic representation of the deity - a three foot high clay mound blackened with the blood of sacrificial animals and palm oil - the novice was asked if she had any confessions of witchcraft or sorcery practices to make. Her innocence was confirmed by Afa divination. The Priest then offered a prayer to the deity asking him to receive the novice into his safe keeping and cure her instantly of her sickness as soon as the initiation rites were performed. The fowl was then immolated by cutting its throat with a sharp knife and the blood drained partly on the deity and a Legba image in front of the shrine, amidst the beating of a gong and the singing of a cult song - Appendix B No.102. The fowl was cooked by a man. A porridge of cornflour mixed with palm oil was also prepared. The bones of the sacrificial animal were carefully removed and offered whole to the deity. Cult

servants partook of the flesh and porridge as a communal meal. The novice's share of the meal was placed on the deity first and then given to her to eat while on her knees. After the meal the right big toe of the novice was incised with a blade and few drops of blood drained into a container full of palm oil in front of the deity. All present dipped their fingers into the palm oil and sucked three times. This latter rite is "dzonyinyi" in Anlɔ̃ and, usually, the aim is to bind people together and then a worshipper to the holy. The gunpowder was poured on the deity and a live coal put on it. This rite signified the destruction of the already evil powers surrounding the novice. It is also intended to assure the novice of the protective presence of the deity. The ceremony ended with the enumeration of the deity's taboos to the initiate. Apart from food prohibitions, others included abstention from the practice of witchcraft and sorcery. The throwing of harmful objects carelessly about in the dark was mentioned a number of times. The reason is not because a fellow man might be in the dark and be accidentally injured. It is all because the deity himself might be around to help and might be offended by so doing. Finally the initiate was to pass seven consecutive nights in the shrine. It is believed that if indeed the deity had accepted the initiate he would make some revelations to her. It is worth noting that a song incorporated for cult usage now is believed to have been taught this initiate

in a dream by the deity himself.

Implicit in this initiation is the idea of the initiate becoming a new person at the end of the ceremonies. Some of the deities in Aqlɔland demand this rebirth to be made explicit. The commonest method is a change of name. It is So and Da cults which are mainly noted for this. It is not necessary to reiterate here how closely linked a name is with the personality of him who bears it in many religions (12). The name is believed to contain something of the bearer's soul. Such names in Aqlɔland are usually theophorous and completely replace all former names. Dasi and Sosi meaning a wife of Da or So respectively, are some of the female cult servants and Dawubo, Da is mightier than magic, may be given a male cult servant. So vital is this rebirth considered to be in Yeve religious society that all cult servants, whatever the day of the week on which they were born, become Saturday born. The reason for this estimation of Saturday appears unknown. This weekday does not even have any special connection with the deity himself.

Generally worship of the deities in Aqlɔland is on every-other-day - the day before and the day after the local market day. Not infrequently, many of the deities consider Keta market day as the standard market day from which worship days should be arranged.

The day to day type of worship has been witnessed on

many occasions and it had better be given a general rather than a particular description.

Early in the morning of the auspicious day for worship the priest offers a general petitionary prayer (13) to his deity on behalf of the whole of Anlɔland. A deity, like Sui of the Lɔafe clan, may request that this general intercessory prayer should be offered in secret. Hence the priest has to do it between three and four o'clock in the morning. Other deities, however, may like worshippers to join in as it is in the shrine of priestess Logosi of Woe. The gist of the prayer at this time is general prosperity and long life to all Anlɔland. It is remarkable that the usual curses for evil-wishers may be omitted. As peace offering to the deity cool water which may be mixed with guinea corn flour is poured out on the ground. This water is "tsita" believed to be the first to be drawn that day from its source and has not yet been put to any other use.

At about six in the morning, worshippers may start gathering. As each worshipper arrives, he goes first to greet the deity. With bare feet, head to waist also bare, the worshipper kneels down in front of the screened entrance of the shrine, touches the ground with his forehead and elbows and says "Tɔgbui! nue le do loo!" "Grandfather! I greet you" The priest responds on behalf of the deity. It may be a one syllable word "Yoo!" meaning "Alright, thank you," while touching the ground with the middle finger of his right hand and placing it against the

forehead of the worshipper. This action may be accompanied with a ritual recital which explains the action - to wish the worshipper abundant life on behalf of the deity (14).

Though ordinary worship at the shrine may be intensely communal, every single prayer offered may be prompted by individual needs. Such prayers are usually accompanied by votive offering - a desert spoonful of cornflour, an amount as little as one penny and a pint of locally distilled gin. The gin provides an entertainment for the worshippers.

On his knees before the priest, the supplicant states summarily his reason for approaching the deity with a votive offering (15). The priest takes the offering and enters the shrine alone. "There he presents the supplicant's wishes to the deity (16). As he comes out from the "holy of holies" he brings out a small calabash containing cold drinking water. He mixes it with guinea cornflour and gives it to the worshipper to drink. The water is believed to have been blessed by the deity and by drinking it, the supplicant is believed to be united to the deity for the particular need to be supplied. After a little of the gin (17) which the supplicant has brought is poured out on the ground to the deity, worshippers share the rest communally for enjoyment rather than for sacramental reasons. "Evi" or Afa divination may be performed to find out if the deity has received the offering. Since divination may at times lead to further demands by the deity many priests have

almost abandoned the use of divination on these occasions.

A few worshippers, however, come to offer thanks. During the worship, in which appendix A No.85 was recorded, a woman brought in her four year old son to offer thanks for his recovery from a recent illness which Afa divination had revealed was the work of this particular deity.

Because the worship of the deities is on every other day, there is no emergency worship as such, as it is in the case of the ancestors where worship is once a week on the average. What may be styled emergency worship is "nuxe" sacrifice (18) which may be arranged but not necessarily performed in the shrine or its precincts.

Personal guardian deities may be worshipped any day of the week. It may be a simple offering of the deity's favourite dish to him. Anyone who owns a Legba image may be seen pouring palm oil on it in silence - probably presenting his wishes without speech. A Se or Kla worshipper may go down on his knees touching the ground with his forehead and elbows saying "Nue le do loo!" "I greet you". He may work out the details of his needs as he goes about his daily task. If he does not, the symbolic touching of ground with the elbows is enough. This, in addition to the touching of the ground before the deity with his knees, signifies a silent request for healthy arms and legs - simply abundant material life. Other worshippers, once they have been passed through the initiation rites, do not

deem it irreverent to ignore the daily worship. A number of Se images photographed from a priestess in Anlŕga belonged to her children who have deposited them with her probably, because as Christians, they wished to avoid the usual "disgrace" should these images be found in their possession. These children, however, always send offerings for prayers to be said on their behalf. This old priestess is qualified to offer such prayers in her capacity as a custodian priestess of personal deities.

Some traditional believers who own personal deities do not appear any more serious either. One interviewed in Anlŕgā could remember the last time she engaged in a daily worship of her personal deity was well over six weeks. By confessing that she worshipped almost daily when she was in trouble, she might probably not know that she was testifying to the presence in Anlŕ religion too of the consideration of religion as indispensable only when a believer is in need.

Every Anlŕ deity has an annual festival celebrated in his honour, variously arranged throughout Anlŕland between the months of February and April usually. In days of old a festival was twice a year - just before the rains in March/April, and not later than the start of the September/October rains. As the priests remark, it is because of the "hardness of the world" that is, economic reasons, that festivals are now only once a year.

Festivals in Anlŕland are largely occasions for general

thanksgiving to the deities for a year's protection. Those who owe thank offerings bring them and the offering of others may not be in recognition of any special blessing received from the deity. Some of the deities, like Aduḍu (19), may prescribe an annual thank offering to their worshippers. Offerings at this time also serve "votive" ends since petitions are presented for worshippers' needs in the following year. On the whole, the festival may be regarded as "deity-centric" unlike the ordinary worship which is "worshipper-centric." Simply, the festival is the deity's day as the ordinary worship is the believer's day.

The main rites of an Aṇlṣ festival are bathing, anointing, clothing and feeding the deity. All these rites may take place on the same day or on different days. As an example of a typical festival of the deities in Aṇlṣland, Avadatsi of the Lṣafe clan is chosen because it was this one that was allowed to be studied through and through.

The festival took place at Aṇlṣgā* on the 25th of February 1964. The main rites were confined to the afternoon because the rites of the deity Gbe, of the Amlade clan occupied the forenoon. The general festival prayer which usually opens the celebrations was offered in the early morning about the same time that Gbe's rites were on. So that Gbe's prayer here replaces that of Avadatsi in the appendix (20).

The forenoon was spent in preparing the communal meal of balls of guinea corn flour mixed with honey or sugar. This was done by three old ladies who had reached their menopause. Some of the balls were sent to priests and chiefs to invite them and their people to the festival rites.

By two o'clock the precincts of the shrine were packed to capacity by cult servants and well-wishers. The laity in general occupied themselves with festive drumming and dancing. Soon a shot boomed and the women, especially those much nearer the shrine went down on their knees while raising a special yell of honour "ɣlikpe". (20a). All the men, particularly clan members lowered their cloths from their shoulders and removed their feet from their sandals (21). All this was to announce that the deity was coming out of the shrine. Not long after, the priest emerged from the shrine preceded by his assistant. The former carried a six foot iron spear and the latter a conical raffia hat perched on a flat wooden board. The spear was the symbolic representation of the deity and the hat was believed to be the very one used by the clan ancestor (22). The yell died down as the emblems were set in position for the rites to begin. Drumming and dancing were resumed by the laity, little knowing what was going on much nearer the shrine.

First came the bath. According to custom, this deity demanded that an uncircumcised and chaste man should keep the

spear in position while the priest bathed it. Since an Anlɔman, though chaste, may not be expected to be uncircumcised beyond his sixth birthday, a boy of two, helped by his father, played this important role. The significance of this practice appears forgotten.

There was first the symbolic "hot bath" of seawater and some herbs. This was intended to bring within the personal experience of the deity "the heat of misfortunes which have been too unbearable these days" (23), so that the deity might better appreciate the urgency of the worshippers' petitions for their removal from their lives. This was followed by "cold" bath of fresh cool water containing "fla", the Anlɔ "olive" branch. This was done twice over. As the deity himself was made to experience the satisfaction and contentment that a cool bath gives when there is heat all around, worshippers hoped the deity would not delay to give them abundant life that they might also be "at peace."

Anointing the deity followed the bath. This was done with palm|oil mixed with the ground dried bark of the cam wood while the priest implored the deity to massage their ailing bodies similarly till they were safe again in the arms of good health and abundant life (24).

At this point an old lady of about 80 years dashed from among the crowd and went d wn on her knees before the emblems. She gave thanks to the deity for nursing her back to life

after a recent illness which nearly took her to her grave. She also asked for long life and prosperity for her children and grandchildren (25).

When festival rites resumed, it was time to feed the deity. A ball of guinea corn flour was fixed to the tip of the spear and guinea corn beer and gin poured on it as food from the whole clan to nourish the deity so that he might also reciprocate with abundant life (26).

All the rites were performed by the priest helped by his assistant. Every rite was accompanied by corporate prayer offered by the priest. The gist of these prayers was nothing more than the removal of misfortunes from the lives of worshippers and a substitution in their place of abundant material prosperity (27).

The rites were over by four o'clock and there was a lull when worshippers retired home to get themselves gaily dressed for the festival communal meal. The emblems were taken into the shrine during the break and were covered with black cloth. This is "clothing the deity" and it was meant to inform the deity that worshippers were in need of clothing and shelter.

In a little over an hour worshippers reassembled. All sat on mats in the "fence" enclosure in front of the shrine. The assistant priest ceremonially set down in position the stool on which he would sit to distribute the communal beer,

and also the pot from which he was to draw the beer. The ritual recital (28) which went with this action referred to the pot for instance as life-giving. For from it worshippers would partake of a sacramental meal which would symbolize a life-giving union with the holy.

The sacramental meal opened with a prayer of invocation offered by a priestess (29). After this, she poured out on the ground the first draught of the beer as a peace offering to the deity. Representatives from the priests, priestesses, male and female cult servants collected from this particular deity's priest balls of guinea corn flour mixed with sugar and guinea corn beer for distribution to their various groups.

The priestess again offered a prayer (30) with a libation of beer. The communal meal was distributed for the second time. When all had had their turn, the assistant priest ceremonially scooped out the last draught of the beer and offered it to the deity by pouring it on the ground. In Anglſland when a group of people are drinking, the one who pours the last bit is expected to provide the next round. By giving him the last bit, worshippers were symbolically informing the deity that it fell to his lot to provide the sacramental meal when the festival season came round again. Implicit in it also was the final reiteration of the recurrent request throughout the festival - namely the maintenance of the deity's providential care over worshippers especially in

times of need.

The sacramental meal was brought to a close with a prayer (31). This was, as usual, led by the officiating priestess intercepted with a rhythmic hand clapping from all worshippers. The prayer (32) was offered twice and at the end of each round as soon as the priestess said "Here is abundant life and may we wash ourselves thoroughly in it", all worshippers replied "Akufia! Akufia! Akufia!" This general response of "Amen" was accompanied by a symbolic act - moving both hands alternately over the shoulders as if scooping water with the hollow of the palms over the body during a bath. This sacramental meal is called "goḍiqi" and the day "goḍigbe". Literally, the words mean "coming out", that is, the day the deity comes out of his shrine.

The following day was "degbagbe" "the follow-up day." (33). Its afternoon was devoted to a repetition of the sacramental meal.

For about four weeks cult servants came in to redeem their votive vows, while others at the same time requested protection in the days ahead (34). Even the priests of local shrines also took gifts to this deity. But prayers which accompanied the gifts of priests were not for them personally as were the prayers for worshippers in general. But that the deity 'may give to all nations abundant life and plenty of children and food to go round all of them' (35).

It may be noticed that all the principal "life-giving" rites were performed twice; the cool fresh bath, the anointing and the sacramental meal. The "twice over" symbolism is "alo eve nana" in Aql3 religion. Literally it means "offering a person the two hands." In this context it means taking a very firm hold of a thing so that it does not slip off. The aim of an Aql3 festival cannot be anything more than such a firm grip of abundant life in the lives of worshippers - (Appendix B Nos. 55 and 60).

Two observances during the annual festival of Avadatsi here described, need special comment. All entrances to the "fence" enclosure around the shrine had palm fronds put across them six feet from the ground; four broken pots continually kept on giving out smoke from some herbs being purposely burnt. The aim was purificatory. For an elder of the clan died near the shrine a few days before the ceremonies started and contamination from the corpse needed thorough removal before festival rites could be efficacious.

Secondly, a very big wooden bowl stool in the middle of the "fenced" enclosure. It contained water and some herbs. All cult servants, upon arrival, went to wash their mouths, heads, arms and feet with the water. This rite is "nugbedodo" (36). Its aim is to remove any ill feelings from the heart of cult servants against one another. For it was discovered in the morning of the main festival day that discussions were not

proceeding in the usual manner of concord and harmony.

Ceremonial purity is usually incumbent upon those performing the festival rites and those among the laity who wish to participate fully in the rites (37). Sex is the most important and it must be avoided. Women in their periods should not draw near the shrine but may participate fully in the sacramental meal. The sacramental meal may be taken home to those who, because of ill-health, cannot visit the shrine.

Soon after bathing, anointing and feeding a deity "ahavše" is placed in front of the shrine to be shared by those who feel themselves free from the practice of sorcery and witchcraft. This is in use on the main festival day only. "Atsilefehə of Nyigblā of Afife is the counterpart of "Ahavše" at Aqlǝgā.

Eight days before the main festival rites of bathing, anointing and feeding the deity are performed, worshippers of Tōmi and Sui of the Amlade clan (38) go on pilgrimage to the sacred grove of their deities. Because of the death of Tōmi's priest, worshippers could not perform this rite as part of the 1964 festival. Though Sui worshippers observed theirs, this could not be personally witnessed because of ill-health. The author was, however, taken over the route a week later by a regular pilgrim, a son of the late priest of Tōmi, and his permanent guide throughout the field study. The account as here presented is largely that of Tōmi and the main source is the younger brother of the late Priest, Asigbi Akpaka of

Aqlɔ̃gã, one of the chief pilgrimage rite specialists.

The day for the pilgrimage usually falls on the day after the Aqlɔ̃gã market day. By five o'clock in the morning, all pilgrims travelling from Aqlɔ̃gã arm themselves with cutlasses and hoes and assemble in the "fence" enclosure around the shrine. The priest pours a libation of water containing guinea corn flour, to invoke the guidance of the deity as worshippers engage in the discharge of this sacred obligation. All then leave the deity's house in a single file - Tɔmi's "vestal virgins", "fiasidewo", take the lead followed by female cult servants "kosiwo", male cult servants "kluwo" and finally "amegasiwo", priests and priestesses of nearby shrines who wish to share in the pilgrimage. The deity's priest himself brings up the rear. All who are not worshippers of Tɔmi are freely allowed to join in the pilgrimage and may also receive the special blessing of the deity "bebe", if only they do what is required of a pilgrim on this pilgrimage. The pilgrims travel by canoe across the lagoon on the first leg of their sacred journey.

The first stop is Atito village at the shrine of Agbonufia. Here all pilgrims clear the precincts of the shrine of all undesirable weeds. The ground in front of the shrine is used to heap two small mounds about four feet apart. On each of them is fixed an 18 in. long mid-rib of a palm branch whose top is split 3 in. deep. This rite has been

performed in recent years by the chief source of this account. The priest then performs the rite of "gočodo" clothing and "dzađeđe" feeding the deity. In the case of the former, the priest fixes a piece of blue cloth "bisi" in each of the splits at the top end of the palm branch mid-ribs. To feed the deity, the priest pours a small quantity of guinea corn flour on the earth mounds. These rites are accompanied by a prayer in which the priest implores the deity of this shrine to clothe and feed especially the pilgrims and the whole of Anlɔland. As peace offering, the priest pours on the ground in front of the two earth mounds a libation of cool water mixed with guinea corn flour.

From this place the pilgrims from Anlɔga continue their journey across the lagoon to its northern bank pulling up at Kɔfudzi. This village is the rallying point for all who want to join in the pilgrimage. After a short rest here, the priest again pours a similar libation as has been done before setting out from the shrine at Anlɔgã and the "real" pilgrimage begins.

This second leg is a journey of about eight miles on foot through marshes and creeks at times shoulder deep to a grove on the outskirts of the village of Blamezãdo. The sacred grove is perched on a high ground about 100 yards from and overlooking a creek that runs into the waters of the Keta Lagoon. At the bank of this creek, a further libation for

invocation is poured with water mixed with guinea corn flour. In this libation prayer, the priest formally informs the deity of the temporary suspension of his (the priest's) duty as an intermediary, so as to allow each pilgrim to present his personal need which is so important as to make him defy the perils of the journey to the sacred grove. As the pilgrims engage in clearing the path from the creek to the sacred grove each joins in a personal communion with the holy. The prayer is usually a look back over the previous year; the failures are recounted and as each throws away a handful of weeds he says "Mama! v3 ne yi v3wo de! Abaka, adrika dimee mele loo!" "Grandmother! may all misfortunes and evil go where they have come from. It is healthy arms and legs that I want." This refrain is sandwiched with individual details - women may ask for children, young men for wives and each a successful career to feed and clothe himself.

After the weeding, two earth mounds are heaped and a similar rite, as already described, performed. By this time the laity have already resumed their journey back to Klobudzi village. This is the time for the major communal pilgrimage rite. In the centre of the sacred grove an earth mound, about double the size of the type already described, is heaped and similar rite of clothing and feeding the deity performed. An uncastrated he-goat, which the priest has brought from Anl3gã, is then tied to a peg by means of a thin blue cloth to enable the goat to break it easily. The priest first presents

the goat to the deity as sacrifice from the clan members, and well-wishers on their own behalf and on behalf of the whole of Anlɔland. He then lists the major set backs in the lives of worshippers over the previous year while resting his two hands upon the back of the he-goat. He finally tells the deity that as worshippers leave the goat here and get back home they leave all evil and misfortune on the goat and that the deity must turn them into good luck and abundant material blessing for them. The concluding words are a request for rain to wash the guinea corn flour scattered at the base of the mound in the sacred grove down the cleared path into the creek which should carry it into the mighty waters of the Keta Lagoon for further distribution as abundant life to all parts of Anlɔland. The goat is let go and may wander away into the nearby villages (39). Because Tɔmi worshippers were not able to observe the pilgrimage rite this year, it was the grove of Sui that was visited. The only spectacular thing in the grove a week after the pilgrimage rites had been performed was the mound with the mid-rib of a palm branch standing on it, and ^{then} a number of cowries scattered nearby. In the village of Suife, named after the sacred grove, about five sacred goats could be counted wandering about - a testimony to the part religion plays in the life of the Anlɔ people.

The night is spent at Kɔɔfudzi in keeping vigil. It is believed a similar vigil is also kept in the deity's shrine

at Aqlɔgã That at Klɔfudzi is purely for festive reasons. But the one at Aqlɔga is intended to give those who because of good reasons, cannot join in the pilgrimage, an opportunity to make their personal appeals also.

The next day the pilgrim band disperses and all return home. The pilgrims from Aqlɔgã join the priest in offering sacrifice to and ^mclothing the deities on the route back to Aqlɔgã. Few of these deities are Hafa and Afɔmegbetɔmi at Adzato and Zivi at Klomekpota. From here the pilgrims make their way straight to Atito and offer thanks to Agbonufia for a safe return.

By five o'clock in the evening the Aqlɔga pilgrims are again in a single file entering the deity's house at Aqlɔgã. Here the priest pours a libation for dissociation - to make sure the pilgrims are free from the danger of any holiness occasioned by the pilgrimage. All the pilgrims then drink water containing guinea corn flour partly as a visible sign of freeing themselves from any danger of the holy and partly to symbolize the mystical union for life they have achieved through participation in the pilgrimage.

Some critics of Aqlɔ religion may consider this pilgrimage a clever means adopted by priests to induce worshippers to go and clean up the sacred groves. The traditional believer himself cannot imagine any more sacrilegious comments from his critics. Of course he is aware that he cleans up the

sacred grove at the goal of his pilgrimage. To him this clean up is only incidental; for his aim of making the sacred journey is to "meet" and "talk" face to face with the holy. Moreover, he knows his deity reciprocates whatever is done to him. In cleaning up the sacred grove the believer knows he is removing the dirt of evil and misfortune from his own person — an activity which gives expression to what he says in his personal communion with the holy. A religion like that of the Aqlɔ people may have a strong belief in the approach to the holy through an organized priesthood. But the type of worship which awaits the Aqlɔ pilgrim at the goal of his pilgrimage emphasises in no uncertain terms the indispensability of a personal relationship between a worshipper and his object of devotion.

Some of the deities in Aqlɔland prefer "heavy" sacramental meals — a porridge "dzekplɛ" to be cooked with fish or meat. Nyigblɛ of Aqlɔgɛ will be taken as an example of "bloodless" sacramental meal. Because this is the Aqlɔ national deity, the onus of supplying the meal requirements does not devolve on the priest alone. The guinea corn flour and palm oil are provided by the priests of other deities as well. The crabs and lobsters, which also form part of the sacrificial meal for the "first day", are supplied by the surrounding villages of Atito Yenui, and Kodzi. Crabs and lobsters are used because Nyigblɛ's main taboo is blood and these animals are

believed to have no blood in them.

The 'first day' of the sacramental meal was Monday the 25th May 1964. By 3 o'clock in the afternoon all worshippers assembled in the improvised sacred grove (40A) to partake of the meal cooked by the male cult servants. A prayer for invocation was offered by the assistant priest at the end of which the special immolator pounced on the uncastrated he-goat and strangled it as sacrifice to the deity. The immolation was successful since the goat made no noise. It was then suspended on a forked stick to remain there through the night till the next day when it would provide meat for the second day's "bloodless" sacramental meal.

As may be expected the prayer (40) was general petition for evil to be removed from all Anl3land and the world and material prosperity enthroned in their place. A very fervent prayer was offered for rain and whether a coincidence or not worshippers left the "sacred grove" in an extremely heavy tropical downpour. The sacramental meal was dished out by the assistant priest to all other priests who sacramentally distributed it to their respective cult servants.

(41) The next day was the "follow up" day. The now "bloodless" goat provided meat for the sacramental meal. Worshippers struggled to partake of this second day's meal because it was prepared with the deity's sacrificial goat and was considered to have a special potency in uniting worshippers to the holy.

From the next day and for about three four-day weeks "ziziawo" special female cult servants of Nyigblā went round all the shrines of other deities throughout Anlɔland to scatter so they believe the blessings of the national deity throughout the world (42).

The principal festival rites of Nyigblā of Afife are not anything basically different from what has been discussed so far. Apart from a more elaborate performance, probably because the rites are merged with those of another deity grandmother Zio, one or two observances need special comment.

There is one particular observance which holds up Nyigblā as the pre-eminent ruler-deity of the Anlɔ people and their other deities. The sacramental red porridge during the 1964 festival was shared in the late evening - after sunset - of Monday the 10th February. Like that at Anlɔgā it was prepared with "bloodless" animals - dried fish, lobsters and crabs, cooked in palm nut soup. Among the fishes were the commonly prohibited ones which deities like So and Da imposed as taboos on their cult servants. A special herbal mixture was added to the porridge by the priests of Nyigblā to allow cult servants of the "junior" deities to share in the sacramental ^{meal}/of "Tɔgbuigā" the senior grandfather", so was Nyigblā referred to. Another remarkable thing was that people brought samples of their prohibited food which they dipped into the mixture used in cooking the sacramental porridge. These

.they were to keep and any time they felt like eating the prohibited food of the "lesser" deities they could mix a small piece of the "neutraliser" with their food. Some people are believed to have enough "neutraliser" to last them till the next festival season. Perhaps it is worth noting that the presence of such a practice by which all other deities are powerless and dwindle into insignificance in the presence of a mightier one probably may have provided a good outlet for the development of monotheism in Aṇlṣ religion. This, however, is a conjecture.

The next two days after the sacramental meal at Afife are known as "Trṣadi-gbe." The deity's symbolic representation - a white red-spotted half cylindrical hollow object about two feet long - is ceremonially taken out of its resting place to pay a visit to its sacred grove on the outskirts of the village. In the sacred grove where the laity should not enter, sacred specialists perform rites of intercession, offer sacrifices and prayers for the prosperity of Aṇlṣland. No further details may be revealed however attractive the reward from the inquirer. The more important thing on the "coming out days" of the deity is the personal communion of believers with their object of worship. As soon as a special drum booms the message "Togbuigā ḡu dza, ḡu dza, ḡu dza" (43), three times, wherever believers may be they spontaneously join in personal prayers to the holy. Some of the people who

attended the 1964 festival affirmed that their attendance was largely prompted by this specially personal communion with the holy.

The next two days are known as "Hogbadugbe". On these days worshippers go with offerings to the five main places of prayer scattered in the five wards of the village to offer personal thanks for the deities' protection over the previous year and to beg for same in the ensuing year. Everyone then washes himself - head, face, arms, and feet - with a herbal mixture from a big earthenware bowl to symbolize the washing away of evil and substitution of material blessings. This is also the time that "bought womb" children must also come forward for "kabobo" ceremony and others to buy wombs from the deity "mama Zio" (44).

The cult of the deities in Aqlɔland, as here presented, reveals that the Aqlɔ traditional believer's approach to the holy is communal on the whole. But here and there are weighty evidences of the emphasis which this religion also places on personal religion in the life of its believers if man is to have a much firmer and closer walk with the holy.

NOTES: Chapter III

1. See e.g. Spieth, J : op.cit,1906 and 1911. Also Manoukian, M. : op cit. 1952.
2. Parrinder, E.G. : op.cit.(revised 1961) Herskovits, M.:Dahomey, an Ancient West African Kingdom, 2 volumes. (New York 1938).
3. Aflam and Fofui have their homes located in Ashanti. The former appears the corruption of the river deity, Afram, of Rattray's research. The latter, however, cannot be easily paralleled in Ashanti.
4. See e.g App. A. or B. No.50, 59, 86.
5. See e.g. App. A. or B. No.86
6. Because Nyigblā, in Anlo thought, was not "exclusively" connected with its "original" home, he could easily make Anloland his home when he left Gbugblā in anger.
7. App. A. or B. No.12.
8. App. A. or B. No.1. The present chief, Lē II, of the Evifeme clan reports that the symbolic representation of Asife is her lower jaw. So also is Tsali. It may, then, be supposed that all Anlo deities whose symbolic representations are human lower jaws are human but divinised ancestors.
9. See also the section on magic in Chap.V. below.
10. Chap. I above.
11. App. A or B. No.89

12. See for example Chap. 4 of W.D. Halls' English translation of 'Hubert and Mauss' work on Sacrifice (London 1964). Also James, E.O. : Origins of Sacrifice (London 1933).
13. See e.g. App. A or B No.49, 81 No.49 was later recited for recording purposes.
14. App. A or B. No. 80.
15. See e.g. App. A. or B. No.85
16. See e.g. App. A. or B. No. 86, 50
17. App. A. or B. No.51
18. Refer Chap. IX below for "nuxe" sacrifice.
19. App. A. or B. No.83.
20. App. A. or B. No.52
- 20a. This yell is also part of Nyigblā worship in Anl3gā and, at Afife, it is solely reserved for Nyigblā. It may probably have originated with Nyigblā worship and later adopted by some other cults.
21. These are the men outside the precincts of the shrine, on whom it is not incumbent to observe this obligation except at this time.
22. Avadatsi festival then may be both the Worship of a deity and an ancestor. In the absence of written texts to explain the rites it should not be surprising if Avadatsi is later taken to be a divinised ancestor or two separate deities.

23. App. B. No.55.
24. App. A. or B. No.55.
26. App. A. or B. No.57.
27. App. A. or B. No.54, 55, 57, 58.
28. App. A. or B. No.53.
29. App. A. or B. No.59. This part is always played by
a priestess.
30. App. A. or B. No.60.
31. App. A. or B. No.61.
32. App. A. or B. No. 61, 62.
33. The example of the "follow up day" prayer is that
of Nyigblā of Aqlōgā. App. A. or B. No.88.
34. By proxy e.g. App. A. or B. No.92.
In person e.g. App. A. or B. No.83.
By a priest of another shrine .e.g. App. A. or B. No.90.
35. App. B. No.90
36. Ref. Chap. VII below for "nugbedodo".
37. But Nyigblā of Afife allows a general laxity in sex
during the two four-day weeks that his major rites are
performed. Every adultery is pardoned and the "vestal
virgins" too may satisfy their accumulated sexual hunger
without the least fear for any evil consequences. This
freedom is called Dōdese meaning "the ban on adultery
is lifted". The freedom is also extended to include
the immunity from the evil consequences of breaking the

food taboos of the "junior" deities in order to honour the "senior" deity, Nyigblā.

38. There are two deities Sui by name. So also is Nyigblā. Refer Chap. VI for an explanation of this rather unusual duplication in Anloland.
39. Old Testament students may recognize a 'vague' parallel between this Anlō practice and the "Azazel" of the "yom-kipper."
- 40A. Refer Chap. XI below for the "improvised grove" worship of Nyigblā of Anlōgā.
40. App. A. or B. No.87 - A reconstruction of what the tape recorder could take in since it was not officially allowed to record for fear of desecration.
41. App. A. or B. No.88. This prayer was loud enough to be wholly picked by the tape recorder from afar.
42. Refer, magic, Chap. V. below for the ceremony of "atidedevome" believed to ensure good weather for the "ziziawo."
43. This drum message means "The senior grandfather (deity) has whole-heartedly accepted, 'has eaten', your offering" - therefore, each of you can now present his petitions personally to him. See Chap. IX below - prayer - for an example of prayer offered at this time.
44. Refer Chap. VII, below, for "Kabōbō" and the "buying of womb" ceremonies.

CHAPTER . IVTHE CULT OF THE DEAD

That the dead are still alive and are still active in the affairs of the living is a belief that is very strong and widespread in Anlɔland. The old, especially those soon to join the dead describe their experiences involving those already dead. The sick, in visions and auditions, claim to have seen or held communion with the dead. Some others among the living lay further claims to seeing, in waking life, some of the dead a few hours after their death; and more others report dreams in which they engage in activities with the dead. Messages and injunctions given by the dead in dreams, visions and auditions are believed to be partly realized in waking life later. A devoted Anlɔ traditional believer never eats nor drinks without putting little bits on the ground for the dead. In the evening when the dead are believed to be most active, no Anlɔman sits on the steps of any door in case he may hinder the dead from entering. No sweeping of any kind is done after night fall nor is water thrown carelessly about. But if it becomes necessary that these should be done, first of all the dead must be humbly implored to make way. - "Agoo", "give way please." Women must make sure that cooking pots remain unwashed with bits of food intentionally left in them for the dead till the next morning and that there is water standing in water pots with calabashes ready for use. Where there are wells nearby, receptacles for drawing water should not be

removed at night. Widows must always and very firmly wear "godi" the usual traditional piece of cloth for covering the private parts, until such time that they go to bed with a living person (1). Else their dead husbands are believed to steal in to have intercourse with them and this results in a perpetual "pregnancy" which never develops into a baby. In necromancy the Anlɔ people also believe they freely converse with those in the Hereafter. These visions, auditions and activities involving the dead in no small measure testify that in Anlɔ thought and practice the dead are not only considered to be alive somewhere but also that they are believed to be constantly active in the affairs of the living.

Two main practices among the Anlɔ people are directed towards all the dead. These are "Nukaka", ceremonial cooking for the dead, and "Yɔfewɔwɔ", the final initiation of the recently dead into the society of the ancestors. Some ceremonies, however, are concerned with only the senior members of the social group - the ancestors. These are "zikpuixɔmedede" and "zikpuinuɔwɔ." The former is the ordinary weekly worship at the ancestral shrine and the latter the seasonal festival. There is a minor festival which is expected to be annually celebrated. There is also a major one arbitrarily arranged by various social groups, at least once in a decade. But now owing to economic reasons and urbanization which make clan members, including, at times, the ritual specialists, travel

far away from their ancestral homes for employment, festivals may be postponed in a way that may conveniently suit a social group. The minor festival specially studied for this work was last celebrated three years ago and the major festival over thirty years. But the religious side of the festival is privately and apologetically performed by the innermost circle of the ritual specialists who may happen to be around at the usual time of the festival if by any means the public festivities cannot safely take place at any particular season.

The rest of this chapter will largely concern itself with the study of particular ceremonies involving those in the Hereafter insofar as these help a better understanding of the cult of the dead in Anl3land.

Particular ceremonies involving all the dead (2)

"Nukaka", ceremonial cooking for the dead in Anl3land is done sometimes following a request made by any dead to a living relative. A dead parent may make such a request from a surviving child or a dead spouse from a living spouse. Either individuals or social groups may be asked by the dead to cook for them. At other times surviving children or spouses just feel they need to honour their dead parents or spouses. In short, the initiative comes either from the dead or the living. When the initiative comes from the dead it is largely known either in dreams or through divination by Afa or necromancy.

The first "nukaka" ceremony specially studied was the result of the initiative coming from the dead and was more the discharge of a personal and private religious obligation. This happened at Anl3ga in the afternoon of the 9th September 1963. An elder of the Adzovia clan, one Asigbi Akpaka, following a divination by both Afa and necromancy, was requested by his dead mother to present her with a gift of boiled corn.

The ceremony took place in the house where the deceased used to live. After an invocation in which this particular dead person was called by name, the purpose of the invocation was stated. A petition was next presented requesting the deceased to protect and give abundant life to the suppliant, his wives and children and his sister. The boiled corn was offered the dead by pouring it on the ground. A small calabash full of cool fresh drinking water was then poured on the ground for the dead to drink. Finally a wine-glassful of gin was poured a few feet away from the corn. This was for the enemies of the suppliant and were asked to take it for their destruction. (3) The presented boiled corn was covered with a basket to prevent the fowls from feeding on it immediately. About two hours after the corn was uncovered and provided a good supper for the hungry fowls around. Asked why the presented food was still standing, the suppliant replied that the dead, as spirit, could only receive the spirit

of sacrificial gifts.

Another "nukaka" ceremony studied was a comparatively grander one in which the initiative came from the living. It took place, again, at Anlōgā on the 3rd December, 1963 in the Sōkpo lineage house. On this occasion, the five surviving wives of Tōmisi Avuwāda had just completed the ceremonial period of mourning their dead husband and wished to present him with gifts of food. All five wives contributed to buy a he-goat; then each of the wives brought a duck of either sex, half pint each of palm oil, and the locally distilled gin; two-gallon size gourd of maize beer and some quantity of corn flour.

By six o'clock in the morning the invitees assembled. The crowd was unusually large not because this was one occasion for much free eating and drinking but largely because the deceased in question apart from being the last head of the lineage, was also a leading clan elder and, above all, the priest of Tōmi who has many cult servants and numerous "vestal virgins."

The ceremony opened with a libation of water containing corn flour and gin to invoke the presence of the lineage ancestors and to ask for their blessings on the rites to be performed and abundant life for all lineage members and their well-wishers. As the gin was poured on the ground the ancestors were asked to get themselves intoxicated against the enemies

of the lineage. Should the enemies themselves ever take gin, the gin must turn into poison to destroy them. A bottle of palm oil was then taken out with all haste by the ritual specialist to the main entrance of the lineage house where stood a prominent Legba image. To this image and, indeed to the deity Legba himself, was presented the palm oil, his favourite, to make him more alert than ever as a protector that day so that no uninvited evil force might bring confusion and ill-luck into the rites.

The ritual specialists, the wives as the supplicants and six others - five male and a female who had reached her menopause - retired into an inner enclosure. A similar libation for invocation, as already described, was poured; this time to all the lineage dead in general and to the deceased-guest of honour in particular.

The wives then presented the gifts formally to their deceased husband through the ritual specialist. All went down on their knees with their two hands on their ducks. The senior wife not in age but according to how long she had been married to the deceased acted as the spokesman for all. Summarily she informed their husband through the ritual specialist that they had completed their ceremonial mourning period and that they had gathered to offer him gifts. On receiving the gifts he should rest himself peacefully in the land of the dead and bless them, his wives, and children and

all their well-wishers with abundant life (4). The ritual specialist, in turn, handed over the gifts to the deceased while restating in rather rich and vivid ritual language all that the "head" wife had said (5).

The ritual specialist immolated the sacrificial animals by cutting the throat of each with a knife. As was later explained it was not because of any special ritual significance but because the knife was very sharp and the ritual specialist much experienced that the throat of each animal was sufficiently cut at a single stroke. The blood was offered whole to the dead by draining it into two earthenware plates, "Uegba", from which the dead would eat. While the blood was being offered, the ritual specialist presented general petitions to the deceased on behalf of the wives, all members of the lineage and their well-wishers. The gist of this rather long petitionary prayer, full of repetitions, seemed to be simply this. Sickness and death must be averted from all lineage members and their well-wishers and long life and prosperity in material things substituted. But woe and total annihilation upon all those who in thought, word or deed wished evil to any lineage members and their well-wishers.

Some of the palm oil was poured on the blood then a glass of gin followed by a small calabash full of maize beer. The remaining maize beer was taken to the invitees to drink. Little bits from the entrails of the slaughtered animals, parts of

the heart, lungs, kidneys and liver were placed in the plates containing the blood. Additionally part of the real meat was offered uncooked - to satisfy the spirit powers, the evil ones especially who, the Aql3 people believe, prefer their share uncooked. On occasions as this, the Aql3 people strive to satisfy all spirit powers lest their displeasure is incurred to the detriment of the rites performed.

There was a lull when the sacrificial meal was being cooked. To ensure ceremonial purity, men did the cooking for the dead. Though women cooked the share of the living, yet care was taken that they were not in their periods.

About one o'clock in the afternoon the invitees reassembled. Almost all common Aql3 dishes were prepared. For the dead, many specialities of the deceased guest of honour figured prominently - tea and bread for breakfast, Akpl8 (rather hard porridge prepared with corn flour) rice, fish and meat stew for lunch and rice water for supper (6). The heads of the sacrificial animals were specially presented to the dead as a symbolic request on behalf of the five wives - that they might "see the head", that is, be successful in anything they should do. The teats of the goat were also symbolically presented. As the organs which nurse the young, they signified abundant harvest and plenty of children to be fed at the breast.(7).

At this time every wife was allowed by the ritual

specialist to present her personal wishes, while the ritual specialist himself offered a general petitionary prayer (8) on behalf of all members of the lineage and all those who had assembled. All the wives prayed for success in trade and for their children to do well at school. It is worth noting that the gin offered before and after 'feeding' the dead was for their enjoyment and not to excite them against the lineage enemies. After water was poured on the ground for the dead to drink and another for them to wash their hands, the main rites were over. The presented food was covered with a large basket to prevent wandering domestic animals from feeding irreverently on it immediately. The food was thrown away after three hours.

After a little bit of every dish presented to the dead was given to Legba near his image outside the main entrance of the house, the invitees partook freely of their share of the food and drink while their conversation mainly centred on the deceased guest of honour. Others made casual references to the hard economic days they were passing through and presaged still harder ones owing to a local canal, so they explained, unscientifically cut in these days of immense technological advancement.

No drumming, dancing and singing were done though, at times, some people might choose to accompany "nukaka" ceremony with music and dancing. The absence of music on this occasion

was largely due to economic reasons - lack of money to pay for the musicians' entertainment.

"Yɔfewɔwɔ" is another ceremony which involves all the dead in Anlɔland. This is the final ceremony of initiation which the living perform to help the recently dead to gain admission into the society of the long dead. Some sections of the community hold that this is not of general application to all the Anlɔ people but that it is the peculiar custom of the Amlade clan. However those outside this clan can express the wish, before their death, for their survivors to perform this ceremony for them. But others believe that "yɔfewɔwɔ" has been customary with all Anlɔ people from a time out of mind. Now, some institutions, for example the office of the traditional ruler of Anlɔland and the care of the national deity, belong exclusively to particular clans. The former alternately to the Adzovia and Bate clans and the latter to the Dzevia clan. It is not improbable that "Yɔfewɔwɔ" might have originated with the Amlade clan, or as one of the very original clans from "Hogbe", the Anlɔ ancestral home, this clan has been so faithful to the performance of this rite that they have become specially associated with it. It is not also unlikely that the Amlade clan as one of the two clans - the other being the Lɔafe - whose active presence in a ceremony, the Anlɔ people believe, brings inevitable success and peace, might have become official ritual specialists at

the performance of this rite which later has become peculiarly connected with them. However, whatever the origin, "yɔfewɔwɔ" is now a universal practice through Anlɔland and the very large majority of the people believe that it has never been the peculiarity of any one clan.

"Yɔfewɔwɔ" may be performed once in a decade or even in many more years. The mile-stone is usually taken to be the death of a clan chief or a rich elder. This seems to be the main outcome of the fantastic expenses which attend the performance of this ceremony. For example, in the case of "Gbedze" stool of Abɔ, the ceremony was last performed more than twenty-five years ago when the present chief was about to be installed. So, that the dead over the last quarter of a century are not yet fully admitted into the company of the lineage ancestors. However, a quick and a much simpler one may be rushed through if, following a run of misfortunes in a clan, the diviners have been able to establish that the misfortunes were due to the anger of the dead still waiting to join the clan ancestors. But this seems rare, as if all the dead seem to prefer waiting patiently till their clan has enough money to give them a grander initiation ceremony.

The real ceremony takes three days, It usually starts but not necessarily, on a Tuesday before a Wednesday market so that the principal rites fall on a Thursday after the local market day, which is considered the most auspicious generally

In any case the main rites must fall on a day before or after the local market day, preferably after, because it is believed that the dwellers of the spirit world remain at home on these days and can easily be summoned. In the days of old every house where the dead lived and died and were probably buried was visited and a shot fired, followed by a libation of water containing corn flour and maize beer. After this the dead were called by name to follow the living to the clan ancestral house. Even nearby villages were visited then by groups of people sent to summon home the dead by a similar method just related.

There is a vigil of drumming, singing and dancing in the clan ancestral house on the night preceding the day for the major rites. The purpose of this appears to be to remind the invitees in and around the village or town that the rites are scheduled for the next day. But more especially - and this is of more importance as far as the efficacy of the ceremony is concerned - it is probably intended to help those who are to take active parts in the rites to overcome the temptation of ceremonially defiling themselves through going to bed with the opposite sex.

By five o'clock in the morning all are ready for the ceremony. A first libation is poured to invoke the formal presence of the clan ancestors and to ask their blessing upon what is about to be done. A second libation extends

a formal invitation to the dead who are to be initiated. A goat, "yɔgbʒe", "goat for the dead", is then slaughtered and the blood drained on the ground - to the dead. Where there is a Legba shrine nearby, part of the blood with palm oil is rushed to this deity. The meat is cooked and eaten with "dzekplɛ", red porridge by the willing among those present after part has been scattered in the house for the dead. After the communal meal, the ritual specialist performs the ritual of formally sending away the recently dead into the society of the ancestors.

What features mainly in the real initiation is the spreading and folding of a mat together with the offering of cowries to the dead. The details of this, however, seem to differ and the difference appears largely to be due to choice rather than special clan observances. For example, Asigbi, Akpaka and Adzaxo, both elders of the Adzovia clan, relate spreading mats separately for each dead person and also once for all the dead together. Perhaps, "once" spreading of mat for all may be convenient when the dead are rather very many and "individually" when they are not so many. In any case whether individually or corporately, when the mat is spread the dead are called by name, water containing corn flour and maize beer poured on the ground and the mat rolled. When all the dead have been passed through, cowries are emptied from a small reed bag, "kevi", on to the mat. The ritual

specialist takes a quantity with both hands, one after the other, throws them back on to the mat as money-gift he is offering to the dead of his mother's and father's clans to pay their expenses to the land of the dead. Relatives and friends also do the same with the cowries. This is, perhaps, one of the tense moments in the life of the very near relatives and friends of the dead concerned, and of the thoughtful among the invitees. For, the rite of donating cowries to the dead signifies that the living have completely finished with the dead here on earth. Hence the name "nutsatsra" literally, sieving, removing the good from the bad, that is, the act of parting, a final farewell. The ceremonial spreading and folding of mat symbolises that the dead are now formally forgotten in this world and are now in the safe-keeping of the ancestors till their living relatives should join them. After a round of shots, normally seven, eleven, or twenty one, is fired, the ceremony proper is brought to an end. The living then drown their aroused sorrows in the remaining maize beer and the locally distilled gin while singing some traditional funeral dirges.

More often, there is a lively and festive side of this ceremony so as to curb the sorrow that it always engenders especially in women. Feasting, eating and heavy drinking, and firing of musketry continue for about a week - not without heavy expenses as already pointed out. Hence, for the purpose

of creating a happy and lively atmosphere and, more probably, to help pay the expenses more easily, "yɔfewɔwɔ" usually forms part of either a major stool festival or the installation ceremony of a new clan chief when even distant relatives and other clan members, not directly connected with the dead, more willingly share in the expenses

Ceremonies involving the Ancestors

"Zikpuɪgbodede" or "zikpuixɔmedede", visit to an ancestral shrine, is the usual weekly attention that descendants pay to their ancestors. • The emphasis here is on petitionary prayers to ask for the blessing of the ancestors more than on the accompanying sacrifices. "Zikpuinuɔwɔwɔ", ancestral festivals, are occasions on which living descendants engage in ceremonies with more emphasis on offering sacrifices than prayers to their ancestors.

For many lineages or clans, the Weekly cultic attention paid the ancestors may take place on Thursdays. Others, like the Agave clan of Aɲlɔgã, prefer Saturdays and some others still, the Gbedze stool lineage of Abɔ for example, rather choose to visit the ancestors twice a week, on Thursdays and Saturdays. Because it has been witnessed a number of times, the weekly cultic attention had better be given general rather than particular description (9).

Early in the morning of the auspicious day, at least

before supplicants start coming in, the ritual specialist pours a libation of gin and water containing corn flour. He invokes the presence of all the ancestors and then offers them a general petitionary prayer on behalf of all clan members and the whole of Anlǎland without any special distinction save a few words interjected for the head of the lineage or clan, or for the chief so that ~~he~~ may exercise well his delegated authority from the ancestors for the good of all. The gist of the prayer, as it is common with many Anlǎ prayers, is mainly a petition for abundant life to the whole social group and its well-wishers while doom in the strongest possible terms is pronounced on the evil-wishers of the group (10). The water containing corn flour is then poured on the ground as peace offering to the ancestors usually with the words "Fafa neva loo!" "Peace and prosperity to all."

Soon after this, supplicants start pouring in. Many come with votive offerings to ask for special favours like success in a new venture, delivery from enemies and misfortunes, and bearing children. Very few, however, come to redeem their votive vows through thank offering (11). The ceremonially unclean, women in their periods and those who have gone to bed with the opposite sex the previous night, are not allowed in before the ancestors. In the courtyard or the temple, as the case may be, supplicants present their offerings with their intentions, summarily stated, to the ritual specialist

who may be the elder who pours libation or the reigning chief himself. The ritual specialist then enters the shrine. Two or three other elders, the suppliant with one or two relatives, may accompany him. In a rich dignified and rather poetic ritual language, the ritual specialist offers the gifts to the ancestors (12) Normally, on this occasion, there is "Evi" or Afa (gumaga) divination to find out if the ancestors have received the gifts. In many cases the answer is in the affirmative. On only one occasion witnessed was the answer in the negative. It was a thank offering in which a person of means gave a bottle of the locally distilled gin instead of "Gordon's Dry Gin." A very cold water in a calabash always kept in front of the symbolic representation of the ancestors - a small carved wooden stool - and believed to be sanctified and given a special pontency by the ancestors, is next offered each suppliant to drink while on his knees - a sacramental act whereby a suppliant is assured of a mystical union and the ever abiding helpful presence of the ancestors.

Many of those assembled communally share, purely as entertainment, the gin brought by suppliants after some quantity has been poured out to the ancestors and all other clan or lineage dead. The attendance averages about ten to fifteen. By nine o'clock in the morning, the ceremony is usually over with many of those who have attended made unusually vociferous by gin taken on an empty stomach.

The minor stool festival specially studied for this work, was held at Anl3gã on Thursday the 19th December 1963 in the stool house of the Evifeme clan whose stool name is Lẽ. By six o'clock in the morning many clan members had gathered. The ritual specialists on this occasion was an elderly and respectable man in his late seventies, Tete K3be Akpame by name. A first libation of water containing corn flour and gin was poured in the yard of the stool house to invoke the formal presence of all the ancestors. Then followed a second poured in front of the main entrance of the house to the deity Legba, the "policeman" to whom also a male fowl and palm oil were offered, first before any offering made to any other spirit powers at all. Back in the house, in front of the stool room, the ancestral shrine, a third libation for invocation was poured to Mama Asife, a clan deity, believed to be an apotheosized human sister of the great ancestor of the clan. The main point in the libation to Mama Asife was to make her a promise of a festival in her honour at no distant date so that she might take part willingly and happily in the present ceremonies - to avoid any troubles should her jealousy be aroused. (13).

Next came the rites of bathing and anointing the ancestors basically the same as it is done to the deities. The emblems were a small carved wooden stool, an iron sword, a gong, part of the lower jaw of a wild animal believed to be an elephant

and a small drum, "aklamavui". Only the first emblem was the symbolic representation of the ancestors; all the others were intended to glorify the authority of the ancestors. First came the usual "hot" bath with sea water and some herbs symbolic of misfortunes sickness and death which surrounded clan members. Then came the symbolic "cold" bath with fresh, cool water containing "fla" the Anl3 herb of peace as a sign of the enthronement of peace and prosperity in the lives of clan members. The anointing was done as in the case of the deities and with the same material. The ritual specialist and the reigning chief then reverently carried the emblems into the shrine and displayed them on a ram's skin ready for the offering of sacrifices.

It is worth noting that all drums - the two "atopa" and the "agblo" drums, regularly used in cult activities, were also similarly bathed and 'anointed.' During the entire rite of bathing and anointing, the ritual specialist and the chief alternately offered petitionary prayers to the ancestors (14).

The ceremonial presentation of the sacrificial gifts was done by the chief, Amegã Lã II, on behalf of the whole clan. Two fairly big rams, eight fowls, and three tubers of yam were officially presented by the chief through a spokesman to the clan elders who in turn should hand them over to the ritual specialist to immolate for the ancestors (15).

The immolation was done by the ritual specialist. First

He sliced the "head" of the yam and offered it, as first fruits, to the ancestors. He then placed it against the forehead, tongue and bare chest of the chief on his knees and representing all the living descendants. A special ritual recital accompanied this rite (16). Second came the slaughtering of the animals - as it was done during "mukaka" ceremony already described - one after the other as the last word of a special poetic ritual recital was uttered (17). The blood was partly stored in a locally made earthenware plate for later use and partly allowed to drain from the dying animals on to the stool and the sword which were besmeared with the blood by the chief and the ritual specialist. This rite also did **not** go without petitionary prayers offered more fervently than ever by both the chief and the ritual specialist for the prosperity of the whole clan (18). Atmosphere was purposely created by means of music from the "Aklamavui" and the "agblo" drums, and the ancestral gong accompanied by the singing of "asafo" war songs in a rather meaninglessly corrupted Akan.

Soon after the ancestral immolation, a libation for invocation was poured to the "atopa" drums (19) and two fowls of each sex, one black and the other white, were specially sacrificed to them. For these drums in Aqlɔ thought are considered as deities in their own right and during ancestral festivals they receive special sacrifice so that they may more efficiently play their part in the service of the ancestors.

Parts of the sacrificial animals, as were presented in "hukaka" ceremony, were again presented raw and cooked by scattering them on the stool and the sword (20). A special dish at this time was "agbozromle", meat boiled in blood. After a little of it was presented to the ancestors the rest was taken by the willing among those present as a sacramental act of receiving life from the ancestors in a mystical union with them. The reverence and sincerity of the partakers in the bloodmeal deserves special mention. One feels the people seemed aware of the awe-inspiring presence of a great "numen", to borrow Prof. Rudolf Otto's terminology.

The floor was then opened for the redemption of votive vows. Various thank offerings were brought by four descendants, three male and one female, (among whom was a Christian soldier who had served in the Congo as part of Ghana's United Nations Force). There was a "dzanana" thanks offering presented by proxy (21). Gifts included a piece of white cloth, gin, schnapps, yam and soft drink. The petitionary note for general protection and success in individual employment was not absent from the accompanying ritual recitals (22).

After a little of every dish offered the ancestors was given to Legba, those present feasted on the remaining food and drink. Music was provided by the "atopa" and "agblo" drums which also occasionally boomed the praises of the ancestors. Dances included the "aflɪ" and "atrikpui" kinds of Aqlɔ war

dances, accompanied by their appropriate songs and hand clapping. At sundown the stool was taken to its resting place. So also were the other emblems all wrapped in white cloth to remain there, veiled from the eyes of descendants, until the next festival season.

All waste of food and bathing materials was buried across the three entrances leading into the stool house as "adema", a charm believed to be able to neutralize the power of anyone who might seek to enter the stool house with evil intentions (23). By seven o'clock in the evening, all was over in the Evifeme stool house by way of a minor festival involving the senior members of the clan, separated by death from their surviving descendants.

At Aba was celebrated from the 18th to the 28th December 1963 a major stool festival of Dufia Gbedze III of the Tsrifo lineage in the L3afe clan. In fact, this was a more elaborate form of the minor stool festival just related, with the major rites performed on separate days. The whole festival could not be witnessed through and through largely because of some other important ceremonies at some other places. For instance, the ritual cleansing and offering of purificatory sacrifice on the 19th December coincided with the minor stool festival at Anl3ga. As such the latter ceremony rather than the former was attended. However, some principal rites were personally witnessed.

The formal ceremonies started on the 18th December, the local "small" market day. On this day the main musical instruments used in the service of the ancestors - two "atopa" one "agblo" and one "aboba" drums and a gong - were ritually bathed with the usual "hot" and then "cold" water. Two male white fowls were sacrificed to all the instruments. The entrails and part of the meat itself were offered both raw, and cooked to the instruments. The rest of the meat was cooked and eaten with red porridge in a festive way by those present. The left over was not buried but left exposed to be used by late spirit powers to the ceremonies that day.

The next day, 19th, the day before the local market day, was solely devoted to the ritual cleansing of, and, offering of purificatory sacrifice on behalf of the whole town of Aba. By five o'clock in the morning, many had gathered in front of the ancestral temple. The day's ceremonies started with a public divination, "dufa", performed by four senior Afa diviners, "toboko", for the purpose of finding out what should be done so that the whole festival might bring an unqualified peace and prosperity to the whole community. The message from Afa was "letefu". According to this, the reigning chief, on behalf of the whole community, was to observe the taboo of abstaining from any drink that foamed during the whole festival period - the drinks included palm wine, maize beer and lager. Sacrificial animals included one ram, one white

cock, one black hen; palm oil and corn flour were also provided for cooking the usual red porridge. The townspeople brought a representative rubbish from almost every room and house. The rubbish was put into two old baskets and a broken calabash. The "Afadu letefu" was drawn in a greyish powder on a divining board and poured into the baskets and the broken calabash. The senior among the diviners slaughtered the ram and the white cock and distributed the blood on the contents of the baskets and the calabash. Parts of the animals, raw and cooked, mixed with corn flour and palm oil, were put into the three containers. Afa appointed three elders to take the three sacrifices to the places where the spirit powers wished to receive them. Two of the elders were respectively from the "peaceful" clans of Amlade and Lɔafe. The third was Amegã Kwaku Agbenɔxevi alias "Tsiamiga", the spokesman of the present traditional ruler of Amlɔland and one of the chief sources of this work. The sacrifices were taken to the Legba shrines in the east, and in the west of the town and at Unugã, the open area for public assemblies.

Ritual efficacy demanded that those who carried the sacrifices should neither turn carelessly about or engage in conversation - probably to help concentration and preparation for the prayer to be offered at the place of sacrifice. At the destination of the sacrifice a prayer mainly petitionary and intercessory for success and abundant life was offered

through the deity Legba as the protector-general of the community for onward transmission to all other spirit powers that the festival must not only run smoothly without any unfortunate incidents but also that all must have long life prosperity and peace. From here each bearer returned straight and quietly to the diviners who had sent them. The senior diviner then purified them all from any state of "holiness" resulting from their visit to the Legba shrines believed to be a rendezvous for both good and evil spirit powers. The purification was done by pouring water containing corn flour on the feet of those concerned.

Those present partook happily of the rest of the food as a symbol of receiving more protection from Legba than those who did not stay on till this late hour - about a few minutes past midnight. What could not be eaten was left unburied that any late spirit powers, particularly the evil ones, might satisfy themselves.

The forenoon of the 20th, the local market day, was almost free of any public engagements partly because the ceremonies of the previous day continued into the early hours of the next day and partly because everybody was privately engaged, getting himself prepared for the journey in the evening. The reigning chief himself, Leut. B.A.K. Fiamor of the Ghana Army, arrived from Accra in the afternoon and about six in the evening he was ceremonially welcomed by the whole

town in front of the ancestral temple. The "agblo" drum boomed the ceremonial words of welcome (24). After the pouring of two libations (25) by Amlade and L3afe clan elders to invoke the presence of the ancestors and ask their blessing on the festival as a whole, the crowd started its journey to the creek Tsigo at Tsiame five miles away (Tsiame is believed to be the ancestral home of the stool). Throughout the journey there was music provided by the Agblo" drum and a gong, accompanied by the singing of war songs of the "atrikpui" tempo. At Tsiame in the ancestral stool house a vigil was kept with drumming singing and dancing and not without much heavy drinking of the locally distilled gin.

At dawn, about half-past three o'clock on the 21st, the day after market day, a select number of clan elders and the reigning chief, about twenty in all, went to a place called Tagba to pour a libation for invocation to the clan elders resting there (26). Back in the ancestral home a few minutes to four o'clock another libation (27) for invocation was poured by the ritual specialist of the ancestral house at Tsiame. This libation was to the "natural death" ancestors. The journey to the creek then started in great silence at about five minutes past four o'clock. The silence, however, was punctuated with occasional booming of the "Agblo" drum in praise of the ancestors.

The journey to the creek took about an hour and a half.

The crowd stopped two hundred yards away from the creek, separated by a thicket. Ten clan elders, the reigning Chief and a maternal rich grandson of the stool continued to the creek. The symbolic representations were uncovered by the regent and a safe clan elder, Gbeve Tsigbe, ritually poured water on them to declare the bathing ceremony open (28). The regent, the reigning chief and the rich maternal grandson of the stool bathed the emblems one after the other. The emblems included a carved wooden stool - the symbol of the ancestors - two iron swords, a raffia hat and a gong. As usual, during the bath petitionary prayers were offered to the ancestors on behalf of the whole Abo community, (29) while the crowd, a few yards away, occupied themselves with drumming, dancing, singing and the firing of musketry.

The homeward journey from the creek took the people through "Tsiamé Ute", a thicket with two very tall baobab trees, where in the olden days, Abo chiefs were believed to be installed. Here was a few minutes' dancing to "atrikpui" music. When the journey resumed, it went through the ancestral house and after a few minutes' rest, the group left Tsiamé on the return journey to Abo amidst drumming, singing and firing of musketry.

At Abo in a small "fenced" enclosure near the ancestral temple, two paternal grandsons of the stool were appointed through Afa divination to bathe the emblems with the symbolic

"hot" and "cold" water respectively. The rite of anointing was performed by the regent.

The presentation of the sacrificial gifts - two rams, eight fowls of either sex, and ten tubers of yam - was done by Tsiamigã Kwaku Agbenɔxevi on behalf of the whole Abɔ town. The reigning chief himself presented his own two rams as thank offering to redeem his votive vows made to the ancestors when he was leaving on two occasions for further training in the United Kingdom (30).

The immolation was done by Kwaku Bedzra a thirty year old son and the probable successor of the immolator, ninety year old Tumaku Bedzra who was incapacitated by old age. Compared with the immolation during the minor stool festival at Aɲlɔgã, the present one appeared less impressive due to the inexperience of the present immolator, and this detracted from the dignity, awe and solemnity which usually attend this final stage in the Aɲlɔ sacrificial drama. Part of the blood was poured on the stool and the two swords and the rest stored in an earthenware plate for use the next day. The usual parts of the animals were offered raw and cooked to the ancestors by scattering bits on the stool and the swords. A glass each of Schnapps and soft drink were poured on the stool and the swords for the ancestors to enjoy themselves. After water was poured on the ground for the ancestors to drink and to wash their hands, the main rites for the day were over. The

people then feasted on the remaining food and drink.

Sunday the 22nd, the local "small" market day, was another very significant day. It was when the stored blood from the rams was cooked with mutton and was partaken of as a trial by ordeal to detect sorcerers and witches in the community. All those who believed that they were usually wrongly accused by the community as indulging in underground and destructive activities, must come forward to prove their innocence. The guilty who would not refrain from eating were believed to die later. The meal "agbozromle" was prepared very early in the morning by two clan elders, and placed in front of the stool. Many elders came forward, took a piece with their right hand and each, on his knees facing the stool, ate his share in great reverence. Nothing edible should be taken before sharing in this meal. Anyone who wanted to prove his innocence beyond all doubts, went on his knees with his arms folded behind him and then with his mouth picked the blood meal placed on the naked ancestral stool itself. Two men suspected of sorcery did not come to share in this meal. The whole of Sunday was devoted to this rite of "Nunyinyi."

One four-day week, from Monday 23rd to Friday the 27th, was devoted to the payment of thank offering. Many people came forward with gifts of rams, white cocks, white cloth - two christian women offered four yards each of white velvet - gin, money in multiples of twelve shillings. Two women brought

a girl of three and a boy of six, who were born to them following votive offerings brought to the ancestors. There was in particular one man, a paternal grandson who offered a ram, two bottles schnapps and a money gift of 48/- because of an unexpected corn harvest which Afa divination attributed to the help of the ancestors. A few however brought votive offerings. But all supplicants asked for further care in the years ahead.

All gifts except the animals and birds were used. The live animals would be used later when Afa divination made it known. If any died accidentally, the supplicant was to replace it.

On Christmas Day the whole town attended a Church Service of general thanksgiving for the sake of the Christians in the community. The chief himself, a Christian, and his retinue first attended Roman Catholic and then Evangelical Presbyterian Churches, the only Christian Churches in the town.

Music of all kinds especially traditional war music, "asafo", "atrikpui" and "aflī" constantly provided a musical background. Other kinds of traditional music for enjoyment were "kpegisu", "gadze", "gadodo" and "adzado" played by the elderly and "agbadza" by the youth. The musical instruments included, various drums, gongs, rattles, hand clapping and were introduced at the appropriate places. The firing of musketry continued throughout the festival - from the evening

of the 20th to the dawn of the 28th December.

The festival was brought to a close on Saturday the 28th the local small market day. About six o'clock in the morning, seven shots were fired and amidst the thundering and deafening music provided by the "atopa" "agblo" and "aboba" drums the carved wooden stool and the two iron swords were neatly wrapped in white cloth and taken into the shrine by the reigning chief helped by the regent and two other elders from Amlade and L3afe clans. "Tagbui do xo loo!" "Grandfather has entered his room to rest" "Tagbui! Agbe! ayi l6o!" were the messages which the "atopa" and "agblo" drums boomed as the symbolic representations were put back at their place and wherever they were, all, as soon as they heard the drums thus played, responded "Agbe! ayi loo" "Long and abundant life to all."

From the night of the 21st to that of the 27th the regent and the reigning chief slept with the stool in the large room adjoining the shrine. The common belief is that the ancestors might, in dreams and auditions, make some useful revelations, for the progress of the whole community, through the reigning chief and the regent who exercised a delegated authority from them. The left over food was as usual buried across the entrance of the ancestral temple as "adema" charm in the night preceding the last festival day.

All the dead in general receive some cultic attention

from the surviving members of their various social groups in Anglſland. But whenever members of blood relation gather round a symbolic representation of the dead, frequently a carved wooden stool in Anglſland, it is rather the human but divinised ancestors that are the object of supernatural reverence and devotion.

NOTES: Chapter IV

1. A widow who does not wish to re-marry is believed to have a mock intercourse with a tree in a special personal rite performed in the bush before she could be free from this extraordinary use of "god1."
2. "All the dead" here refers to the "natural" death people. Refer mortuary rites in Chap. VII below for the Anlo conception of death.
3. App. A. or B. No.45.
4. App. A. or B. No.41
5. App. A. or B. No.42
6. App. A. or B. No.43
7. Ibid.
8. App. A. or B. No.44
9. Specimen prayers here were recorded in Agave clan ancestral shrine at Anlɔgã. App. A. or B. No.25-27
10. App. A. or B. No.25
11. App. A. or B. No.26
12. App. A. or B. No.27
13. App. A. or B. No.1
14. By the ritual specialist App. A. or B. No. 2, 4.
By the Chief. App. A. or B. No.3.
15. App. A. or B. No.5, 6, 7, 8,
16. App. A. or B. No.9.
17. App. A. or B. No.10
18. App. A. or B. No.11
19. App. A. or B. No.12

20. App. A. or B. No.19, 21, 22, 23, 24.
21. App. A. or B. No.20.
22. App. A. or B. No.14, 15, 20.
23. Ref. the next chapter, magic, for "adema".
24. App. A. or B. No.28
25. App. A. or B. No.29, 30.
26. App. A. or B. No.31, 32, 33. For "Tagba" refer
mortuary rites in Chapter VII below.
27. App. A. or B. No.34, 35, 36.
28. App. A. or B. No.37
29. Regent; App. A. or B. No.38
Reigning Chief; App. A. or B. No.39
A grandson of the Stool; App. A. or B. No.40A
30. By the reigning chief; App. A. or B. No.40^I
By "Tsiamigã" Aghenoxevi App. B. No.40^{II}

C H A P T E R V.

DYNAMISTIC FORCES

At the entrance to a typical Aql3 settlement, the first things that greet the visitor, apart from a very large usually clayey image in a human form with a rather prominent phallus, are small objects largely decaying remains of animals and plants suspended from poles on the two sides of the settlement entrance. On entering, farms, trees, many home and shop doors are almost overcrowded with similar objects some in parcel form. Moreover the bodies of the inhabitants, especially children, may seem adorned with rings, bangles, necklaces and amulets. The large majority of these objects represent the visible signs of dynamism or vital force which the Aql3 people, like any other of their traditional African neighbours, strongly believe, is immanent in the world of nature and can be tapped by anyone with the appropriate technical know-how, either for good or bad end depending upon the intention of the user. In Aql3 thought, this vital all-pervasive and non-moral force, issues forth mainly in magic, medicine sorcery and witchcraft. This chapter aims at investigating the functioning of dynamistic forces in Aql3land in order to find out how far this is not a pretence and the work of charlatans but an honest and sincere part of Aql3 religious thought and practice.

Magic and Herbalism

In the Aql3 conception of magic, "dzo", the magician

"dzoto", seeks through incantations, "gbesa", and charms, "dzoka", to command spiritual forces to come to his help either for destruction or protection. It has been said that "magic commands and religion implores". On this score, it may be argued that because Aql3 magic also is believed to command, it cannot safely be grouped within the fold of the people's religious beliefs and practices. But since, as animists, the Aql3 people strive through magic to employ the services of spiritual forces, the Aql3 magicians may be regarded as spiritual believers who make use of spiritual powers and not material as the scientist is likely to imagine. There is therefore good reason to distinguish Aql3 magic from, say, European magic in which quacks who have no real faith in what they do sell lucky charms and iodine locket, for instance, to credulous people simply because of the immense financial gains involved (1). To consider Aql3 magic then as part of the animistic religion of this people may be justifiable.

Aql3 magic proceeds on two main notions of sympathy (2). First it is Homoeopathic, that is, like produces like. In one example of "akpoka", protective magic in his script collection of some Aql3 charms (No.238) Mr. Augustus Mensah (3) mentions okro and a knife as the main ingredients. When the owner of this charm is suddenly attacked with a weapon, the incantations help make the weapon slip away without any harm to him. The

knife is believed to be the embodied representation of all weapons and the okro intended to reflect the ability of the charm to cause any weapon slip away. The incantation is

similarly framed. "Aqidi, tuto neqidi, dato neqidi; rutinye menyo o, medze ade. Aqidi! Adeawo kata tonyee blolo to hã."

"You shall slip away; may bullet slip away, may arrow slip away; my skin is slimy. You shall slip away. All kinds of slime belong to me even that of the mud fish." Then "ato", a stinking rodent of the rat family, features as the principal ingredient in an offensive magic which is believed to make the body of the victim exude an offensive smell (No.29 of Mr. Mensah's collection). The accompanying incantation is "Ueve kũkũ, nukae nye esi le veusa ale! Anee nenyee, gboẽ nenyee?" "What an offensive smell; what is it that is giving such an offensive smell! Are you a human being or a he-goat rather?"

Secondly Aql3 magic is contagious and operates on the belief that things once joined must remain so for ever and can effect one another. The sorcerer who wants to charm a victim to die an untimely death is believed to use in preparing the charm, for instance, a piece of cloth which a person who has died in a similar way had on at the time of the incident. "Azã" is a typical example of this charm. The principal ingredient is a human skull or ribs. The sorcerer sets "azã" trap by placing bits of different kinds of food near the magic.

By means of incantations the sorcerer invites the personality soul of the proposed victim to eat the food. If by any means the desired victim takes any of the representative food on the charm for breakfast that day, he is believed to vomit blood and die. It is not, therefore, without cause that the Aql3 people take great care in the disposal of those who die in accidents and also of any refuse from the person of the living - hair combings and nailparings for instance. It is for the same reason that in days gone by and, indeed, in some backward villages in Aql3land at present, the excrement of babies for the first four to six months is stored up in a hidden place that no sorcerer should have access to it. This, of course, may sound unhygienic. But the irony of the situation is that to those who do it, this is believed to be a very safe method of preserving and promoting good health. This deep rooted belief in contagious magic also helps to explain why the Aql3 people leave no stone unturned with exorbitant expenses to claim the placentas and umbilical cords of babies from hospital nurses so as to make sure they are sufficiently hidden from the reach of sorcerers.

In Aql3land the magician (4) can only intentionally come by such a practice. A master magician, behind closed doors, passes the novice through the appropriate rites. Only the three major rites are relevant to this study.

First "dzoyoyro," The master magician invokes a spiritual

force to take possession of the magic. This is done by adding the appropriate herbs to the magical preparation. The Anlɔ people strongly believe that it is the herbs that do all that is required. The chewing and spewing of a few ginger grains, "ataku", on to the magical preparation, as many magicians affirm, is just intended to add a mysterious colour and awe to the whole process. "Lɔkawuwu", offering the sacrificial animal, is the second major rite. The animal on this occasion is usually a pigeon, fowl or goat and must be a male - for the sake of Legba, the Anlɔ protector deity, who feeds only on male animals. While muttering some words rather inaudibly, the magician asks the novice to lay the animal beside the magical preparation. The animal is believed to die in no time if the spiritual force has indeed taken his abode in the magic. With a sharp knife, the magician severs the throat, drains the blood on to the magic and lays the entrails beside it. While offering the blood and the entrails, the magician "personalizes" the vital force in the magic by assigning it its function of either protection or destruction. This is the stage at which, in Anlɔ thought, the vital force operating in magic takes on a moral character thereby classifying magic as good or bad.

A short comment on the immolation of the sacrificial animal. The throat of the sacrificial animal is later cut with a knife to complete the rite. The sceptics see in this act the actual killing of the animal and consider the stage,

where the magician claims the spirit power in the magic has killed the animal, as a hypnotised state into which the magician usually induces the sacrificial victim.

Lastly comes "dzololo." In this rite the magician hands over the magical preparation to the novice who henceforth accepts full responsibility for operating it. The magician places a few ginger grains on the magical preparation and then presents the whole to the novice now on his knees. While receiving it with both hands - a sign of whole hearted acceptance ^{the} novice picks up the ginger grains with his tongue and swallows, never chews, then saying "ne dom abe ax3 ene." "May the magic (the spirit force in it) cling very firmly to me (my soul) as the louse to its host." A communal meal is prepared with the rest of the sacrificial animal and is joined in by the initiate and the initiator and any master magicians invited to the ceremony. The communal meal and especially the swallowing of the ginger grains, are symbolic acts intended to assure the initiate of the invisible mystical union between him and the spirit force operating the magic. This union the Aql3 people strongly believe is indispensable for the practice of magic. After the initiate is taught the relevant incantation and the herbs used in the preparation of the magic, he becomes a fully-fledged magician.

Apart from some taboos that must be strictly adhered to, two other main observances are incumbent upon the magician if

he means his magic to be always efficacious. The herbs, believed to house the vital force, must be renewed yearly, and a prescribed animal sacrifice offered. There are minor sacrifices when the magic is to be used. Though these are not absolutely necessary, all the same, they are believed to provide an outlet for a more efficacious working of the magic. So that it may safely be said that Aql3 magicians have to make a religion of their magic if they mean it to be always efficacious.

Every Aql3 magic, either good or bad, requires not only a special initiation on the basis just outlined, but also a meticulous observance of its taboos and sacrifices as well as the most accurate recitation of the relevant incantation. The great financial loss entailed and the mental strain imposed upon those striving to be faithful to the practice of magic, as many retired Aql3 magicians bear out, help to explain why many Aql3 people cannot be active practitioners of magic all their life-time and why many of those who want to be really devoted to the practice become mentally abnormal. The average Aql3man considers this mental breakdown as a direct outcome of the inability of the magician to honour his obligations towards the spirit power operating the magic. Like the deities and the ancestors, the spirit power, through this ailment, registers his displeasure at such a wilful neglect. To regain his normal health, the sick magician, apart from undergoing a herbal treatment, must go back to a strict observance of

the appropriate taboos and sacrifices enjoined by the magic. Many people, however, at this point hate a going back and opt for a formal giving up of the practice altogether. This is done by the rite of "dzotsatsrɔ" or "dzowuwu", destroying the magic.

In this rite, an attempt is made to break the mystical bond existing between the magician and the spirit force operating the magic. The rite must be the magicians first engagement for the day. He takes his unwanted magic to a public latrine. He spews water on it seven times saying each time "Agboti nexɔ wò" "May the latrine take you over from me." On the seventh count he drops the magical preparation into the latrine, usually a pit. He then hurries silently back home and washes himself with cold water containing "Fla", the Anlɔ herb of peace - as a sign of contentment and the return of peace and prosperity. Perhaps it may be worth mentioning here that implicit in this rite, is the great paradoxical religious notion of making a person "profane" by dissociating him from a state of "holiness" brought about by a union with the holy, and this rite alone in itself may be deemed enough to justify the consideration of Anlɔ magic as part of this people's religion.

Anlɔ magic can be good or bad, protective or destructive, personal or social. Good magic is generally regarded as protective, defending the person and property of the innocent

against the wicked machinations of evil men. Some good magic like "adema" work without harm to the person of the attacker. It is believed that when any wicked person with evil intentions seeks to enter a place protected with this charm, as soon as he steps across the buried charm, like lightning conductor, the charm conducts and buries with itself all the planned evil leaving the person of the enemy unharmed. But other charms protect by destroying the enemy either in part or in whole. The Aql3 people do not consider this destruction as morally bad at all since it involves persons who commit crimes against innocent people. A fair example of this "destructive-protective" magic is "nuḍo" and is mainly used to protect property. Because good magic is neither morally or legally guilty of any foul play - at least so the Aql3 people think - it is more practised on the social level than bad magic. All Aql3 charms for the protection of houses, shops and whole villages are examples of social magic.

Bad magic or sorcery, largely destructive, is the outcome of the envy and the jealousy of the lazy and the discontented against the industrious innocent. It is usually practised in circumstances which neither legally nor morally justify the user. As an instance, the Aql3 people believe that a sorcerer or someone employing the services of a sorcerer may render his opponent pursuing a right cause so much confused in a law court that the verdict may be awarded in favour of the

guilty one. About ten years ago an Aql3 civil servant died in a car crash when driving to give evidence which was to be the deciding factor in a case against a fellow civil servant believed to be much immersed in the practice of sorcery. Because the Sorcerers are aware of the guilt involved in their deeds, the art is largely practiced by comparatively few in the society, and the rites usually performed dead at night. Perhaps this is why sorcery also features in the main as a personal affair. It is rather surprising that in Aql3land, normally, nobody ever confesses to sprcery practice and the accusation against such people are in the strictest of privacies and in the vaguest of terms. When a person knows of any accusation of sorcery against him, he wastes no time in dragging his accuser before the law and the accused in many cases is proclaimed innocent. The question then arises whether sorcerers exist any more than witches and whether the whole idea of magic is true at all.

Every harmful magic has its antidote. The commonest is a crude form of vaccination in which black powder "tsi", believed to be prepared with the same basic ingredients as the corresponding harmful magic, is introduced into the bloodstream through small knife cuts made on the body joints or the affected part. Indeed this is basically the same mystical union that the practising magician, through initiation, aims at achieving with the magical spirit force. But the antidotal

union is without the practice of magic. Another sorcery antidote is the wearing of protective charms on the person of the protected. Many people prefer the vaccination antidote since it appears much simpler and, above all, it does not entail the carrying on one's person of objects which may easily be misinterpreted as sorcery.

The most immediate treatment given a victim of sorcery practice is black powder vaccination. Because the visible symptoms of allied families are very similar, bad magic is very often diagnosed for treatment by means of divination. Hence the community demand from a popular magician to be a diviner also. A herbal mixture may be given the patient to drink for a period of say seven, fourteen or twenty one days. At the end of the prescribed period the patient undergoes some purificatory rites and offers a "thank" sacrifice which is also dissociatory in function. Bathing the patient with water containing the Agl3 herb of peace rounds up the treatment. This final act is symbolic of introducing the patient back into the "profane" world from the height of ceremonial purity by contact with the holy believed to have been reached through the purificatory rites. Otherwise he will be too "holy" and this "holiness" is dangerous to his fellow men.

Furthermore, he that suffers harm caused by purely "destructive" good magic, and not sorcery, must necessarily confess the wrong done, make restitution in kind to the human

owner wronged and offer a sacrifice, to be determined through divination, to the spirit power that has harmed him. Otherwise cure is believed to be incomplete. It is remarkable that in any form of magical treatment herbal remedies seem a *sine qua non*. For in Aql3 thought the physical body is the vehicle of the complex soul and the two are so inextricably joined in earthly life that what affects one is manifested in the other. The purificatory rites, the Aql3 people believe, heal the complex soul and the herbal remedies the physical body. Hence all those who want to be practitioners of magic must indispensably possess some knowledge of herbs. In short, the Aql3 magician is often a herbalist also.

Connected with the cult of the deities and the ancestors are some practices which are regarded as purely religious acts but which appear to have traces of magic in them. The very presence of "reincarnation" beads is intended to ward off evil from the one who wears them. One cannot fail to recognize a savour of magic in the practices of using nail clippings and hair combings in Aql3 second burial and part of the collection of water in which a person gets drowned in performing part of the mortuary rites.

Additionally the rite of "atidedevome" suggests a belief in magic. This rite, "locking the door (against rain)" features as part of the Aql3 national deity's annual festival. - Some sacred objects are placed in the sun and this rite is

believed to withhold rain for a prescribed period - to ensure good weather for "ziziawo" to discharge their sacred obligations for the peace and prosperity of all Aql3land (5). Moreover, some of the deities are "dzozutr3wo", charms which have become deities. Like pure magic, at the annual festivals of these deities, herbs which are believed to house the revered spirit powers are renewed. Then "amlimataitsi", magical feats, performed to advertise the deities to prospective cult members, form part of the annual festival.

It has so far been noticed that some rites generally regarded as purely religious, sacrifice for instance, form an indissoluble part of Aql3 magic. Likewise traces of magic have been detected in practices which may be looked upon as purely religious - the rite of "atidedevome" to stop rain for a prescribed period. In other words, religion and magic, as they obtain among the Aql3 people today, seem to support the view that "it is probable that magico-religious attitude has been present ever since thinking man appeared" (6) and that there is nothing to suggest the priority in time of either of the two.

Thus far in this section, it may not be difficult to understand why in Aql3 thought, magic and medicine, as "ama", are spoken of in almost the same way. Indeed, the knowledge of herbs plays such a vital role in the practice of Aql3 magic that many tend to think of magic as almost pure medicine -

herbalism - with a veneer of rather useless acts to add a mysterious awe and respect to the practice. Of course, the Aqlɔ people strongly believe that without herbs magical incantations will not work. Above all, many there are in Aqlɔland who cure sicknesses believed to be caused by bad magic, with pure medicine, without any magical charms at all. So that medicine, as applied to magic, appears to strip the latter term of miracle-working that is often implicit in its usage.

As a concrete illustration, Mr. Augustus Mensah published a pamphlet (7) on the purely medicinal use of some herbs which feature prominently in Aqlɔ magic. Then, Rev. Abotsigã of the Apostolic Revelation Society in Aqlɔgã, instantly cured with a purely herbal mixture a woman suffering from an acute stomachache believed to be the result of bad magic. Despite these and many other incidents, medicine or herbalism, as "ama", still forms a solid part of the animistic beliefs in the religion of the Aqlɔ people. For the large majority still faithful to the spirit of animism, make a sharp distinction between the spiritual curative powers of medicine as "ama" and its material purgative effects as "atike".

Finally what truth is there then in the efficacy of magic depending upon the present knowledge of Aqlɔ magic? To consider the whole idea of magic as sham and stop there will be a defeatist approach and to regard it all as the result of

secret agents who work in the greatest of privacies will be too rash and suggestive of inadequate grappling with the problem. Of course the presence of quacks among Aql3 magicians, as it is everywhere that magic obtains, and the attribution of the effective working of magic to the power of herbs, may help explain as sham only some magical practices among the Aql3 people. Then two illustrations also furnish only part explanation of efficacy of magic especially sorcery as the result of secret poisoning. Firstly, a poisonous substance is believed to be put into the black powder which has a harmful effect should it come to contact with the body. Secondly, according to a well-informed herbalist in Aql3gā, there is a herb which, when dried in the sun, ground into powder and then taken in a beverage, has a deadly effect if only the one who has taken it neglects to drink warm water for the next twenty four hours. So that grounds for suspecting foul play are quite absent if the suspect also partakes of what is believed to cause the poisoning. But in cases where magic apparently works without any physical contact, killing and healing at a distance for instance, explanation for the efficacy of magic may be sought elsewhere.

Psychoanalysis reveals that the mind, especially the suggestible type, is easily susceptible to hypnosis - the agent usually refers to himself as a magician. In the hypnotic state, the hypnotised can be made to feel pain in

circumstances where he would not normally do so, or be cured of an already existing pain. Moreover, through fear many are known to have died in Aql3land from the very sight of black powder or what they believe to be sorcery practised against them while, in fact, these preparations are absolutely free of any harmful substance.

However, these are all attempts at rational explanation of the efficacy of magic by the tutored and the thoughtful mind. But the ordinary Aql3man does not waste his energy in this way once magic is able to offer him a facile explanation of incidents he has of necessity to reckon with and which may otherwise have remained almost inexplicable at his level of scientific and technological advancement.

In conclusion, because magic tends to furnish explanations to the solution of rather personal problems, like failure in life, the practice continues to flourish in Aql3land and has most successfully resisted the enlightening factors of social change. "When men go to live in modern towns.....they still use many magical charms. Indeed....the practice of magic seems to remain as strong as ever." Nothing can better describe Aql3 magic at present than this statement by Dr. Parrinder on African magic as a whole. (8)

Witchcraft.

Belief in witchcraft is widespread among the Aql3 people and almost every Aql3 person at one stage or another in his life has believed in witchcraft. So deeply rooted is the belief that even the formally educated (8a) and the Christians find it very difficult to liberate themselves from its clutches. The apparent sceptics, threatened by the vicissitudes of human fortune, have often doubted in a way that is almost tantamount to an unconfessed belief. "Adze" is the Aql3 for witchcraft or witch spirit. Both witches and witch-doctors are believed to make use of fundamentally the same power in their activities. The non-moral quality of the witch-spirit is further attested by a belief in its complete dormancy, without even an unconscious use of it in the lives of many of those believed to have inherited it at birth from their mothers. So in Aql3land "when the bewitching power is felt to be active men do not ask the oracles who are the village witches for they may be many but they ask who is exercising his witchcraft power." (9) Therefore this study will examine witchcraft in relation to those whom the Aql3 people believe either they themselves feel or are believed or accused by others to be exercising their witchcraft powers either in pestering the lives of others or rescuing the victims of this suicidal fear.

"Adzeto" is the Aql3 name for a witch - anyone who

practises witchcraft consciously or unconsciously with evil intention. In a wider sense, a witch doctor is also known as "adzeto" since he is also believed to make use of the same witch spirit. But "adzeto" appears never openly used to refer to witches probably because of the deep-rooted belief that a direct mention of witchcraft, like death, exposes the community to more attacks from the witches. The community, therefore, prefer to make use of euphemistic periphrasis. The most current ones are "miatowo" "our friends" "ta evetowo" "those with two heads", "yametowo" "people of air" and "anawo". The last word seems to have lost its original meaning. As the short form of "Anagotowo", "anagoawo", the Aql3 name for the Yoruba people of West Africa, some people believe "anawo" took its origin in this way. If this is true, then the use of "anawo" to mean witches may, perhaps, be a living testimony to the view that either the Aql3 people took over the belief, as some others in Aql3land, in part or whole, or improved upon it through contact with the Yoruba people on their westward journey to their present home. However the Aql3 people do not appear to have any special association of witchcraft practice with the Yoruba people.

Perhaps the evil connotation of witchcraft in general may supply the reason why "adzeto" is not used of a witch-doctor, openly at least, by the community. The reference is always personal - used by the witch-doctor for himself - and

it is more the display of power over the witches who can do no harm even if they hear witchcraft mentioned. The community then prefer to know witch-doctors as "dzotowo", magicians, practising "adzedzo" protective "witchcraft" magic in sheltering the innocent and the helpless against those who use the witch-spirit with evil intention. Following the popular Anlɔ usage, "adzeto" will now be used of those who misuse the witch spirit.

Anlɔ witches are generally women, especially those who have passed the age of child bearing. But sometimes younger women, co-wives for instance, even children are thus spoken of. Whenever men appear as making use of the witch spirit it is largely in their capacity as witch-doctors.

The Anlɔ people believe that witches, especially the practising ones, have special features which clearly mark them out from other members of society. Hair may be found on the chins and chests of these women - a feature that is solidly masculine in Anlɔ thought. Their eyes may always look unusually bloody and deeply set in the sockets. The complexion of the skin may be comparatively very dark. Normally they appear gloomy, more often attempting to retire from society. Some of the witches, however, seem rather extraordinarily nice to others with a view to concealing their wicked intentions.

Other features are "spiritual" visible to only those with "second-sight". By means of medicine already introduced into their bodies and by the continual use of herbal remedies and

ointments when the need arises, witch-doctors claim they can easily spot out witches in waking life. Some witch-doctors report that fire and black smoke periodically surround the heads of witches. The witches hate the company of witch-doctors and make deliberate attempts to avoid them for the presence of a witch-doctor, it is believed, makes a witch uncomfortable. The innocence of babies is also believed to help some of them to recognize witches who approach them in waking life. In such circumstance the baby screams bitterly and becomes unusually frightened.

In Anlo thought, there are various ways by which a person can come by the witch spirit. Firstly it may be inherited. The inheritance may be at birth by a daughter from her mother. The witch spirit in this way is imparted to the issue along with part of the mothers personality soul that the Anlo people believe every child inherits from its mother. The first daughter, or the first girl, or the only child if a girl, whom a witch mother has so much longed for and finally has, and who, then, in many cases, becomes a darling child, is the one usually thought to be given this power at birth. There is also the possibility of all daughters inheriting it from their mothers. The mother and aunts of a suspected schoolgirl witch at Atiavi were believed to be witches who inherited it unconsciously at birth from their mother. On the other hand, the only sister of the schoolgirl witch, Afa divination

revealed, was not a witch. Moreover it is believed the inheritance may not be at birth but also later in life. The schoolgirl witch was revealed by Afa to have inherited the witch spirit in her teens from her grandmother in the last days of the latter. Here again, the child was widely known as a darling granddaughter.

A section of the Anl3 people further believe that the witch spirit may be imparted to unconscious victims through eating and the use of inherited personal effects like beads and trinkets. Of course, in dreams, which are real in Anl3 thought, some victims of witchcraft practice are believed decoyed by witches to their night assemblies where they share in a meal and thereby get initiated as practising witches. It is not unlikely that this belief existing originally on the psychic plane was later gradually and rather imperceptibly transferred to the material plane. Then too, it is the darling children whom the Anl3 people believe inherit the witch spirit and it is highly probable that it is to these that suspected witch mothers and grandmothers also bequeath imperishable property like precious beads and trinkets. Above all do not the Anl3 people also strongly believe that things once joined must remain so for ever? So that it is not surprising that Anl3 thought regards eating and the use of inherited personal effects from suspected witches as means whereby the witch spirit is imparted.

Secondly, the witch spirit may be transferred to innocent people by witches for whom the practice has become cumbersome. The suspects here are the old ladies who act as mid-wives. In assisting a pregnant mother to have a baby, a witch mid-wife is believed to be able to see through the destiny of the baby. If a good one and she does not wish to take away the child's life, her jealousy rather moves her to transfer the witch spirit to the innocent baby thereby marring the baby's otherwise good earthly life. Anl3 thought, however, is not at all clear on how this is done; the people "know" that this happens and the belief is one of those in every society for which no reason could tangibly be suggested. In other cases, by casting her "shadow" at night on that of an unsuspecting passer-by the witch may transfer her witch spirit to someone else. Those who acquire the witch spirit in this way are believed to have an insatiable thirst for wicked deeds more especially when the witch spirit agrees with their personality soul.

Thirdly it is believed that the witch spirit may be deliberately acquired by purchase. The fee is usually either a dearest human victim or the ability to reproduce one's kind. After the novice is passed through a series of magical rites she receives the witch spirit. Relevant here is the rite of "swallowing needles", "abimimi". The usual Anl3 sacramental meal of red porridge is prepared and the victim's part is made

into seven balls. Three needles are put into each of the balls and the novice is made to swallow them one by one. Before and after swallowing each ball, the novice mentions the natal name of the human victim she wishes to offer as payment. With the swallowing of the seventh ball, the victim is believed to vomit blood or be seized with sudden internal pains and die. If the "fee" is the ability to procreate, as soon as the novice receives the witch spirit, her reproductive organ is believed to be "destroyed".

Because of magical rites performed, the inquirer may wonder whether there is not a confusion here in Aql3 thought between sorcery and witchcraft. Indeed there seems to be none at all. For this incident is one of the examples in which Aql3 witches are believed to make use of magic to achieve witchcraft ends. Moreover, it is originally the "spirit" of the victim that is destroyed and this of course is reflected in its material vehicle - the physical body. Additionally all subsequent activities of the new witch are largely carried out on the psychic plane. It is worth noting that this is one witch spirit in which men as well as women are believed equally interested, for it is used to bring "inexplicable" financial gain to the owners.

Another conscious method of witchcraft acquisition is by initiation at the night assemblies. A witch is believed to charm her non-witch friend to a night assembly where she is

initiated against her wish. The details of this initiation, however, are not known.

Witch-doctors (10) form another category of conscious witch spirit acquisition through initiation. The initiation is magical happening on the material rather than the psychic plane. The novice provides a number of sacrificial animals - fowls, goats for instance - some of which must be male for the sake of Legba. The animals provide a sacrifice for the witch spirit and both sacramental and entertainment meal for the assembled witch-doctors. To complete the initiation the novice has to confess any practice of sorcery and witchcraft in his life. Herbal remedies are then introduced into his body by "vaccination" and he is bathed with water containing some herbs - all to make him a "new" person. In a special rite he is made to "swallow" the witch spirit. This mystical union between the initiate and the witch spirit is the culmination of the initiation. The greatest taboo the new witch-doctor is to observe is never to use the witch spirit for wicked ends. Otherwise he loses his powers as a witch-doctor and becomes rather an unusually blood thirsty witch. No wonder, then, that the witch doctor is respected and held in high esteem in public eye in Aql3land. For his work is tied up with the possession of an upright character.

In Aql3land all those who make use of the witch spirit are believed to recognise one another in waking life. The

witch-doctors definitely should in their own circles since they are credited mainly with physical assemblies. But since the witches are regarded as engaging principally in psychic intercourse it is hard to say if they know one another in waking life. Some people believe they do but make a pretence not to when they are aware there are people around watching them. The witch-doctors also testify that they and the witches recognize each other and that is why the witches generally and intentionally avoid their company in waking life. However, in the absence of any positive evidence adduced by non-witches a definite conclusion on this point cannot be safely drawn.

The activities of witches are believed to take place at their night assemblies modelled on the pattern of a typical Aql3 society and held on the lagoon, the sea, and very high trees - coconut palm, baobab and silk cotton for instance. When the screaming noise of nocturnal birds, owls especially, is heard in the quiet of the night around the suspected places for witches' rendezvous, to the ordinary Aql3man this can mean nothing more than these enemies of society congregating for their horrible activities.

It is the personality souls of the witches that are believed to attend the night assemblies. To transport herself to a night assembly, a witch is thought to lie straight in bed and on her back stark naked. Prior to this, the material/^{body}may have been completely anointed with "adzemi" witch ointment

believed to be a mixture of shea butter, palm oil or kernel oil, and some herbs magically prepared. After a while the whole room flashes like lightning and off the witch goes in form of an owl "kpawòku" or a witch bird, "adzexe". What a witch bird is in Anlo thought is not at all clear. It is vaguely believed to be a very tiny bird, bright red in colour which flashes a very bright light as it goes round on its atrocious escapades. Woe betide the inquirer who suggests a mistaking of say, a fire fly, a glow worm or a centipede for such a non-existent bird. Otherwise he will not go away far in his inquiry for these are a matter-of-fact affair in the life of the Anlo man who expects the same attitude from a "sincere" inquirer.

Apart from turning themselves into nocturnal birds, witches are believed to have animal familiars. But in Anlo thought these familiars exist independently of the witch owners who are believed to compel these poor animals into their service. The snake is the most popular among the Anlo people. Snake dreams are solidly put down to witches in Anlo thought, and the snake familiars are believed to work for witches in dreams when the witch owners happen to be engaged somewhere else. Then in waking life when the witches are not believed to metamorphose, the animal familiars again represent them. Any harm caused to the familiar affects the witch owner but when the witch suffers the familiar does not.

The owners are believed to keep the snake familiars in the secrecy of their bedrooms or in their vagina.

Why the snake is, perhaps, the only witch familiar in Aqló thought may not be difficult to see. Snakes, as fast animals, endowed also with the power of protective coloration, may very easily disappear from a particular spot soon after an incident connected with them. Moreover, the Aqló people credit snakes in general with fantastic powers and some species are even the object of worship - "Vodu Da" for instance.

Relevant to this work is the feast at the night assemblies. The meat is believed to be a human victim supplied in turn by the witches themselves. This feast is not, however, cannibalism for the corpse of the consumed victim is later disposed of in waking life. In Aqló life cannibalism is not believed to have been once practised neither is there any record of ritual murder (11) ever indulged in to provide a ground for mistaken identity between these two practices on one hand and witches' feast on the other. Nor is necrophagy in Aqlóland considered an activity of witchcraft. Whenever a witch appears as a necrophager, it is as a sorcerer making use of bad magic to aid a more effective working of witchcraft. So that an Aqló witch may also be a sorcerer while many sorcerers may be necrophagers but not witches. Indeed, the notoriety of witchcraft in Aqlóland is far too enormous for the practice to permit itself to be saddled with any further

discreditable activity which does not originally belong to its domain.

All manner of fantastically wicked deeds are put down to witches. In some anti-witchcraft shrines, wives are reported to have confessed to having used witchcraft to cause impotence or sterility in husbands who have neglected or divorced them. Some witch-doctors have also testified to having rescued the wombs of some women from their co-wives who have become barren as a result of using their fertility to purchase witchcraft or are jealous of younger and more attractive wives on whom the husbands' attention is more concentrated. It is not at all uncommon at funerals of children, women who die at child birth or following abortions to hear insinuations on the causes of death converging on an unfortunate member of the society, vaguely credited with the power of witchcraft. Paralysis, a backward child, wasting diseases, like a chronic undiagnosed malaria and cancer, a sudden death by stroke, all these misfortunes which need a reasonably higher amount of education and more scientific knowledge than what the ordinary Anl3man possesses, in order to be understood in a better light, cannot in Anl3 thought be anything more than the result of the legally and morally unjustifiable deeds of witches.

General failure to make a headway in life may also be the doing of witches. The witches may cause employers to

forget their victims in matters of promotion and even when they are promoted their enemies may use witchcraft to undo them. At other times the witches may loot, for their own enrichment, money that has accrued as the result of the toil and sweat of the industrious innocent who may not be sufficiently protected.

Anlo witches can also blight the power of growing crops. Here and there may be found some coconuts not at all externally different from the others but having no milk and flesh in them. Since he cannot supply any rational explanation for this, and because nocturnal birds, regarded as the metamorphosis of witches, congregate usually on these trees, the ordinary Anlɔman assigns no better explanation to this bewildering phenomenon in crops than the attribution of it to the witches. But large scale destruction of crops is more put down to sorcerers who are believed to do this by burying dangerous charms in the farms. In fact Anlɔ sorcerers and witches are believed to do the same harm, the former operating on the physical and the latter on the spiritual plane.

The traditional antidote for witchcraft is much the same as that of sorcery and is administered by the witch-doctors. There is "vaccination" with witchcraft black powder and witchcraft charms may be worn on the person of the protected. In one or two houses may be seen earthenware plates containing palm oil and suspended on forked sticks. The Anlɔ people

regard palm oil as a favourite dish of witches and when they come round in search of human victims, they help themselves to the palm oil thereby leaving the human victims alone. Some also believe that Legba, as the protector of the community makes use of his favourite dish of palm oil to bribe away the witches who are more feared by the Aql3 people than any other evil powers.

Another traditional antidote to witchcraft in Aql3land is the usual hot pepper "atadikpui", and it is largely employed against the money looting witch spirit. Hence grains of pepper are never absent from the containers in which petty traders in markets and shops collect their money. It is quite interesting to note that when Ghana was replacing the West African currency with her own, the last few days of the legal tender brought villagers in the Aql3 area rushing to the Bank and Post Office in Keta for exchange purposes. It needed a herculean effort to persuade these villagers to remove the grains of pepper from their money before counting for fear that the witches might steal a few pounds from it.

Anti-witchcraft shrines also claim to offer protection through initiation. In Afet3kua cult at Kodzi village, the novice is made to drink a wine glass of gin mixed with the usual cult palm oil which has been in contact with the symbolic representation of the deity. Through this the initiate is believed to achieve a protective mystical union with the deity.

The Syncretistic churches in the area also put forth their method of protection. These are the "Apostolic Revelation Society" and the "Muzama Disco Christo Church" (12) These two churches describe their protection as "through prayer and fasting", by both clergy and the laity. In addition members wear copper rings and crucifixes. It is interesting to note that many among the laity are not aware that they must fast and pray regularly before they can be sufficiently protected against witches. With their traditional frame of mind, the rings and especially the crucifixes are enough protection in themselves and prayer and fasting appear to be looked upon as luxury for religious enthusiasts.

The traditional cure for victims of witches is again nothing basically different from the cure administered to victims of sorcerers. There may be a black powder "vaccination" and a herbal mixture for drinking and bathing for a prescribed period at the end of which a thank offering also dissociatory in function is given the spirit of witch-doctors. At other times a sacrificial meal is prepared with male fowl and eaten with red porridge. The meal is taken at sun-down by the age mates of the victim and instead of washing their hands all clean them on the victim. This is meant to disfigure the victim, suggesting that he is nothing precious enough for the witches to be after. This is a kind of "hanuhanu" rite.

Perhaps the witch-doctor may choose to effect the cure

through "Zāmedede", "going into the night" and the complementary rite of "Zālele" "bathing evil spirits away". Through the former practice a witch-doctor claims he is able to sneak into the witches' night assemblies and plead for the release of his patients after accepting to offer a substitute - a fowl, a goat, a few grains of beans, groundnuts and maize - of the witches' own prescription. According to the latter rite, the witch-doctor takes his patient to a cross-roads, bathes him with a herbal mixture and then presents the prescribed offering to the witches as a holocaust. A victim of witches taken to an anti-witchcraft shrine is made to drink the cult palm oil and this is believed to effect the cure.

The syncretistic churches describe their cure as through prayer and fasting accompanied by anointing in severe cases. What exactly is this anointing and how done is not very clear. The "ointment" seems to be olive oil slightly perfumed with "florida water". Olive oil and florida water are generally considered by many, especially the formally educated with an inclination for magic, to be endowed with some mystical powers of cure. It is not, therefore, surprising that these syncretistic churches with a bent for indigenous beliefs, may be tempted to hold olive oil and florida water in a mysterious esteem.

It is quite interesting that some orthodox Christians and traditional believers are of the opinion that African

magic is employed behind the scenes by these syncretistic churches. Since the Apostolic Revelation Society which the Aql3 people know very well, has collected a number of converted witch-doctors and herbalists at the society's headquarters at Tadzevu, they can never be free from the suspicion of the practice of magic.

There is no organized witch hunt in Aql3land nor are there any traces of its ever being in existence. There is only an "indirect method" and even here the witches still exist as suspects only. This detection of witches is through the blood-meal and the special maize beer which innocent descendants and cult servants must partake of during the festival of the ancestors and the deities respectively. There is no known punishment that is given to those who, through their refusal to share in these special meals, have sufficiently convinced the public that they are witches. But so much are they indirectly ridiculed and socially ostracised ~~to the point~~ that some are believed to have died.

A witch who desires a cure must first of all make a public confession of the practice of witchcraft whether the cure is by the traditional method or by the syncretistic churches. These confessions have thrown some light on Aql3 witchcraft. But this source of information is secondhand coming from those who administer the cure and not straight from the mouth of the supposed witches. It is not unlikely

that suspected witches, in confessing, may confuse their dreams with realities. But in a community like the Aql3 where dreams are regarded as realities constituting the activities of man's psychic nature, all other phenomena connected with dreams must naturally be similarly estimated. Above all the Aql3 people do not practise witch hunt so that these confessions may seem the result of compulsion. The suspected witches themselves, probably following a long period of an inexplicable disease, visit places where confessions are made. However, it is interesting to note that many of those who supervise these confessions and cure victims report that some of their patients, because of too much harm they have done with the witch spirit, are punished by the Supreme Being with madness and that they have been removed to the mental hospital in Accra. These confessions could equally be in the early stages of the mental unbalance of the witch patients - a time when it may not be easy to draw a sure line between sanity and insanity. At other times these confessions are made on the death bed of victims and are regarded as the Supreme Being sitting in judgement over the victims. Here, again, the incident and in fact the whole idea of witchcraft may be explained away as due to the confused state of the mind just before death when the contents of both the conscious and the unconscious mind, real and imaginary, resurge and some people cannot help speaking out everything. But it is largely the

suspected witches, some of whom may not have known of such suspicion, that do "confess ", Whether real or imaginary, to the Aql3 people the confessions of witches are realities which must be reckoned with.

After confession, the witch is asked to surrender any obnoxious preparations connected with witchcraft practice. Usually these are destroyed as soon as the witches get cured for fear that the witch spirit may seek abode in another human host. But a pot containing beads cowries herbs and charms was tendered in evidence in an anti-witchcraft shrine at Kodzi village, as having been salvaged from a witch now cured (13).

"Adzedede" "removing the witch spirit" is the principal rite in the cure of a witch. This is basically the same as "dzotastaro" in magic. Witch-doctors are not happy to say much about this rite to people outside their circles, nor are they willing to mention the names of their former patients so that they may be interviewed. This appears a professional secret. Apparently, as in sorcery, a rite may be performed to break the mystical union between the soul of the victim of witchcraft practice and the witch spirit. In this case it is only the witch spirit that is destroyed.

At other times the human owner is "destroyed" along with the witch spirit. The obstinate witches who join in the special blood meal and the beer during the festivals of the ancestors

and the deities are believed to sicken and die by all means. For they have put the power of the ancestors and the deities to a derogatory test. The Aql3 people further believe that when a witch leaves her physical body on her nocturnal escapades the material body can be rubbed with ground hot pepper. When the personality soul returns, the pepper, repulsive to witches, prevents the personality soul from entering the body and death occurs. However, no example of this could be cited of this method of destroying obstinate witches. This again, in a way, questions the whole idea of the reality of witchcraft.

In this study of witchcraft, some facts regarding Aql3 witchcraft have been presented and attempts made at convenient points to discuss objectively and rationally some of these facts. It has been discovered that through witchcraft the Aql3 people seek to establish communion with the holy for destruction or protection. A people can always be better understood on the basis of their own outlook on life and how they are educationally and scientifically equipped to battle with the problems of life. All the beliefs and practices which the Aql3 people group under witchcraft seem to fit in well with what they know and understand life to be. Some peoples have already passed through this stage and depending now upon what science has unearthed about the nature of disease and psychology, these peoples have come to regard witchcraft as imaginary and non-existent (14). Perhaps as the Aql3 people also crawl along the road of educat-

ion and scientific knowledge, the fantasy of witchcraft may be a personal discovery and what is here recorded as "facts" about witchcraft, may, in the end, like European witchcraft, be relegated to the domain of superstition. Whether all the Añl3 people will come to understand witchcraft in this light cannot easily be forecast at present much as one cannot be sure if all Europeans now regard witchcraft as imaginary and never take any precautions to protect themselves against this fear.

Divination.

So much mention has been made of divination in relation to dynamistic forces that perhaps this may be the most convenient place in this work to examine the functioning of divination in the life of the Añl3 people.

One of the very few certainties of life that man may safely boast of is the uncertainty of the next second. The present may be pregnant with joy or sorrow but the tides may change at any moment for better or for worse. Any power which, therefore, claims to have the slightest glimpse of what is stored up in the matrix of the future and the unknown past to this power man always clings so that he may enjoy some periods of respite from the dreadful clutches of this inevitable and inescapable anxiety. It is this very purpose that divination serves in the life of the Añl3 people. In consonance with many

of his black African neighbours "Before a betrothal, before a marriage. ...in times of crisis, in times of sickness" (15) "if anything is lost, if a barren woman desires children..... if a man is troubled by strange dreams....the diviner is sought out" (16). In short no important step in life is worth taking in Anlɔland without a prior confirmation from a diviner.

Afa is the most familiar method of divination in Anlɔland. The Anlɔ people regard Afa to be either a direct or indirect borrowing from Yorubaland. The vocabulary is largely Yoruba. "Afa", "medzi", "du," and "woli" correspond respectively to the Yoruba "Ifa", "meji", "oduo" and "Iwori". Two methods are in current use. In one there are four pairs of nuts strung at equal intervals on two cords each about 18 inches in length. When this is thrown on the ground the nuts present a concave or convex surfaces which determine their interpretation. This is the more popular and the easier of the two methods.

In the more complex one, a wooden board largely rectangular in shape is used. A light greyish powder "aye" is sprinkled on the board. The diviner passes sixteen palm nuts "huku" rapidly from one hand to the other. If two nuts are left in one hand he marks one stroke if one nut he marks two strokes in the powder on the board. If none or more than two are left in one hand then this is not ominous and the process is repeated till only one or two nuts are left in one hand at

a time. There must be in all eight ominous results which are drawn on the divining board in two vertical columns of four groups of single or double strokes. This is a "du", message, and there are at least 256 of them.

Every "du" has an anecdote or a proverb cast in a vague way to explain it. One "du" is "tuladeao" and the pithy saying to explain it is "Konde nute fle tu menya tua nu do wowo o 'ye tua gbā lee." "Konde bought a gun and because he was not experienced in its use, the gun exploded and harmed him." This was the revelation of Afa when a widow came to find out the real cause of the death of her husband believed to have been poisoned. This message from Afa, like many others, in point of fact, did not make any "revelation" at all - at least as the woman wanted it. The Afa message might be taken to mean death through either the carelessness of the dead himself or the wickedness of others. So that the thoughtful usually leave the diviner more confused than they have come while the uncritical minds interpret Afa's vague revelations to fall in line with their own predetermined ideas.

Where it is the future and not the past that brings one to a diviner, Afa appears a little bit more helpful. "Letefu" was the message Afa revealed before the major stool festival at Ab3. The pithy saying was "Vi nu matsomatsə anya ku fə avo wəaɖiabe aklala ene." "A child that does not talk too much will wash the cloth of death as white as calico." Simply he

who thinks carefully before making a statement will not get himself involved in any unpleasant affairs. At this time when there would be a great deal of drinking with its attendant vociferousness likely to result in brawls that might mar the purpose of the festival - re-establishment of peace and concord - no message from Afa could have been more appropriate.

Afa is considered a deity and every "du" has its own taboos largely food. "Letefu", just mentioned, demands that no drink that foams should be taken. On this score it would mean that no kind of beer at all should be made use of during the festival at Abc. Afa was therefore implored and the strict observance of the taboo was laid rather on the reigning chief alone - perhaps as the embodiment of the whole social group. Some sobriety is here noted in the observance of this taboo. It would be demanding too much if all attending the festival were asked to go by the letter of the taboo since, paradoxically, stool festivals are usually synonymous with heavy and indiscriminate drinking especially of corn beer. When Afa reveals "letemedzi" no yam is eaten; "demedzi" imposes an abstention from palm nut products. "Blamedzi" hates the eating of plantains, just to mention a few.

Every "du" is a section in itself embracing related events. "Blamedzi" is associated with royalty. A prospective king, priest or leader, should have such a message as his horoscope from Afa. The favourite colour of this "du" is

white. Christians, then, suspect their fellow Christians who appear to make an excessive use of white material as faithful servants of Afa. To him whom "kolimedzi" is revealed has the horoscope of a thief or a criminal. It is, however, generally believed that by the performance of certain rites and offering sacrifice to Se, the deity of Destiny, one may improve his bad lot on earth. But "Semaḍo" "one cannot change his destiny" is a very common Aqlḥ name that has very long been in current use. This is another example of inconsistencies in a society, for which no tangible reason can be assigned - except to complicate matters further.

Divination by "evi" four piece cola nut is another common method whereby the Aqlḥ people seek to know the unknown. The four piece cola nut is believed to have the sexes evenly distributed. The diviner asks a question and then casts the nuts on the ground. The answer is in the affirmative if a male and a female face upwards or downwards. Other than this the answer is in the negative. "Evi" divination is the commonest used to find out if a spirit power has received a sacrifice offered him. But since this may lead to further demands from the spirit power, such use of divination may at times be overlooked. In cases where a sacrifice is apparently insufficient and no misfortune follows, one may doubt the power of the spirits and whether divination itself does not depend very largely upon a chance manipulation of objects. "Manye mewca

ame o" "Ignorance is the plea" is the answer the Aql3 people themselves advance in a situation as this.

Another major but complicated method of divination in Aqloland is "Xoyoy". In this, mortals believe they can, through a medium, converse with the dwellers of the spirit world. Necromancy divination prefers a priestess unlike Afa where diviners are male servants. Consultation is on any day before or after the local market day except Fridays. The priestess enters the shrine and consultants sit with their back against the shrine entrance curtained usually with blue or white cloth. From the shrine the priestess, speaks through an interpreter outside sitting by the consultants. It may be to consult a deity or a departed relative. In all cases the priestess then sends a spirit messenger, "fiele" to summon the appropriate spirit. The priestess inside the shrine and the special interpreter outside play the part of a liaison between the consultant and the spirit power. Ventriloquism displayed on these occasions by priestesses is marvellous. Good ones, like Amegasi Dzienyexe of Avume, can make one deeply rooted in scepticism rethink his views. But others like Amegasi Logosi of Woe are so poor at it that it does not need any concentration at all to conclude that all the human sounds from the shrine come from the same mouth.

Revelations through necromancy are no less dubious than those of Afa and "evi". At the shrine of Dzienyexe the

children of a wealthy old lady came to consult their family tutelary deity about the old lady's prolonged illness. The deity confirmed a rumour long in circulation that the illness was the outcome of the old lady's refusal to give a loan to a suspected sorcerer in their village. But the deity refused confirmation when the consultants gave a description of someone under suspicion. Above all, the consultants could not be helped as to what they must do for their mother to recover. They were simply told "If she dies, it is an irreparable loss to you; but she is too old (about 90 years) and has been suffering too much pain for these six years. It is only death that can give her good rest." Here again divination is not of any help at all.

When children are brought to priestess diviners to find out the particular ancestors who have reincarnated in them there appears some amount of certainty. For many "reincarnated" children grow to have resemblances with the ancestors with whom they are connected. But divination for reincarnation is done long before children start to show any signs of resemblances with the ancestors in question. Even here the sceptics are never without a point in their credit. For example the elder brother of one Atsu Dagbi in Aql3ga, trading far away from home, was supposed dead and many children were born, who were connected with him through reincarnation. He later returned home! Definitely reincarnation and divination must have a big question

mark beside them. But the Aql3 people do not explain it this way. To them, this is the result of the inefficiency of the diviners - perhaps caused by the spirit powers intentionally bringing disgrace upon their servants for some offences committed against them.

Mirror - , brazen pan- and cup-reading are some other methods of divination which interest a few others in Aql3land. Both sexes practice them. The diviners may do the "reading" themselves. They may also make use of chaste children as mediums. Amegasi Kal3kpui of Wodomi - Keta practises both mirror- and brazen pan- reading while Boglo, the priest of an anti-witchcraft shrine at Kodzi village, does mirror-gazing, Afa and "evi" divination.

Someone once came to Amegasi Kalekpui during the field work for this thesis. Many things were said which did not seem to impress the consultant at all. When he was about to leave, the old lady told him "You have twins; take good care of them for your own good". This man came from a place fifteen miles away, had twins born to him at home a couple of days ago and, above all, he was no relation of the priestess so that it could be reasonably supposed that she had had a previous information. Moreover, the man said the visit was impromptu. On the other hand Boglo of Kodzi village revealed through mirror-gazing that a priest at Aql3gã demanded two bottles of gin from the author and that his deity too

would like the same. Later it was discovered that a cult servant from Kodzi was present at Aŋl5gã when the author offered the gift. The tutored mind, then, may say that diviners are very well acquainted with village gossip and through their secret informants know what goes on far from them. So intelligent also they may be that they, at times, have good and pungent guesses. But a "guess" like the birth of twins just mentioned, which some people may consider not the work of chance but of spirit powers who know more than mortals, may excuse reservations in anyone who does not wish to make any categorical statement as to the reality of divination.

Trials by ordeal "akadodo" are also methods of discovering the unknown past. A number of people may be accused and have to submit to trial by ordeal to find out the guilty people. In the shrine of Afetoku at Kodzi a suspect may prove his innocence or guilt with a fowl. The suspect holds the fowl in his hands and he is given a glass of gin containing the cult palm oil to drink. Now in union with the holy he states his reason for coming and throws the fowl away. If he is innocent the fowl runs away. If guilty the fowl can never move away. The person himself may also submit to the trial. A typical one is washing one's face with a herbal mixture (17). The diviner first uses the mixture to wash his face and so do some others present - to show there is nothing particularly harmful in the mixture for the use of the suspect. As soon as he washes his

face with the mixture, the guilty may start feeling an increasing itching pain in his eyes and he is believed to go blind if he does not confess to the crime and is given the appropriate antidote.

On the other hand, a notorious criminal in Anl3gã believed to have committed a crime agreed to submit to a trial by ordeal. Fortunately for him probably, the trial was by *means* of a snuff believed to be made from the cocoa plant. So very strong is this snuff believed to be that he who uses it must be much used to it before attempting a reasonable quantity without excessive sneezing. This snuff happened to be a favourite of the accused. The diviner took his, and when he asked the accused to have a go, the latter refused on condition that his accuser too should share in the trial. The accuser nearly fainted when he tried the snuff. But the accused was not at all moved when he took about three times the quantity used by the diviner and the accuser put together. Should the conclusion here be that the accused is proved innocent and that the accuser has stolen his own belongings? Or should it be taken to mean that the criminal must be sought somewhere else? There is no doubt that circumstantial evidence later pointed solidly to the accused as the guilty one but he was not proved thus by the ordeal trial. So that ordeals, as methods of divination, are in no way worthy of the explicit faith the Anl3 people place in them.

Some charms, because they help to reveal what may otherwise have remained unknown, may also be spoken of as methods of divination in Aql3land. A husband may use a kind of "adema" charm to protect his wife against adultery. If his wife goes to bed with another man the charm affects her if only she goes to bed again with her husband. The symptoms are madness or a continuous menstruation until confession is made and cure effected. A female lunatic at Afife village, the author's local guide reported, "has stepped across adema." Then the wife of a once reputable witch-doctor at Aql3gã was believed to have had such a mensia before. The incident was related by the younger brother of this witch-doctor as both the witch-doctor and his "unfaithful" wife are now dead.

A sacrifice accompanies every form of divination. A votive gift to invoke the appropriate spirit power. When the end desired is achieved a thank offering must be made. The guilty also must offer sacrifices and undergo purificatory rites. All these post divination ritual observances, whether by the innocent or the guilty, have one main aim - to remove the dangerous manifestation of the holy from the persons involved.

On the whole, all attempts made by the Aql3 people to discover past secrets and catch a glimpse into the future through divination seem to have but one motive, namely, to ensure peace of mind and abundant life. Paradoxically divination appears to make the Aql3 people more unnecessarily anxious and

worried than they might otherwise have been if what divination claims to have discovered had remained unknown. True it is that there are some few scattered evidences of the truth of divination and how much good it can do. Yet however much good and truth there may be in divination, the bitter family feuds, suspicion and the anxious waiting in fear and apprehension it spreads through Angl3land monstrously tilt the balance against those who argue in its favour.

NOTES: Chapter V.

1. Harris, W.T. and Parrinder, E.G. : The Christian Approach to the Animist. (Edinburgh House Press 1960) P.38.
2. Parrinder, E.G. : African Traditional Religion (Hutchinson University Library 1954) P.113.
3. Mr. Mensah, an Aqlɔman in his late thirties, had his Secondary Education in the traditional capital of Aqlɔgɔ and started his teaching career in this town and continued in other intensely traditional areas like Atiavi and Anyako. During his teaching career, he made an extensive study of Dynamistic forces in Aqlɔland by undergoing actual initiation, as a practising magician, in over 300 Aqlɔ charms which he has recorded though unpublished. He has however, published two pamphlets; "Atike Sɔɔ Foxlɔ Wɔ (You are everywhere surrounded by herbal medicine); the second pamphlet contains over 200 rare and very old Aqlɔ proverbs which largely form part of magical incantations. Mr. Mensah is at present reading for a general arts degree in the University of Ghana. One of his subjects is Comparative religion and he hopes to publish a work sometime on Dynamistic forces in Aqlɔland.
4. The name "magician" in this work refers to anyone who engages in active practice of magic in any form and who prepares charms for others.
5. Refer Chap.III above for examples of "ɔzɔzutrowo".
6. Parrinder, E.G. : The World's Living Religions (Pan Piper 1964) P.136.

7. Refer note 4 above.
8. Parrinder, E.G. : op.cit. 1954. P.115
- 8a App C A(2)
9. Parringer, E.G. : op.cit. 1954. P.124.
10. The name "witch-doctor" as used in this work means a person who uses the witch spirit to protect society against witches and also to cure witches and their victims
11. When Nyigblā, the Aql3' national deity, was first brought to Aql3land from Gbugblā near Accra, infants were believed to have been pulverised and the ashes thrown into all sources of drinking water in the area. This is meant to unite mystically to their national deity and at all times all Aql3 people who drink from these sources. No other ritual murder appears known in Aql3 traditional history. This particular and probably the only "official" ritual murder of infants is also mentioned by J. Spieth op.cit. 1911; cp. Caldow, W.J. : op.cit. unpublished P.255.
12. Baŕta, C.G. : Prophetism in Ghana (S.C.M.1962)
13. In this case the priest reports he has magically neutralized the evil working power of the obnoxious preparations so that they could be retained as exhibits.
14. Parrinder, E.G. : Witchcraft (Pelican 1958) and also his Witchcraft, European and African (Faber 1963).
15. Idowu, E.B. : op.cit. 1962. pp.77-78.
16. Parrinder, E.G. : op.cit. 1954 pp. 120-121.
17. See e.g. Fiawoo, F.K. : op.cit. 1947 P.67.

C H ' A P T E R V I

SACRED SPECIALISTS, PLACES AND OBJECTS.

Sacred Specialists (1)

The Aql3 traditional believer's formal approach to the holy is channelled through specialists. It is not primarily because of the stratification of modern societies which puts the various aspects of life into water-tight compartments for a better co-ordination towards a smoother running of the machinery of society that has occasioned the institution of sacred specialists in Aql3land. It is rather the outcome of the Aql3 conception of the holy. Though the Aql3 traditional believer much yearns for the ever-abiding presence of the holy, yet he is also aware that this presence may be very dangerous to his well-being. To remove the threat of this danger, the Aql3 people believe that the holy itself recruits into its service people of its own choice and makes its wishes known to them for the information and welfare of all. Since the worship of the Supreme Being in Aql3land is intensely personal and informal, it should not be expected to have any sacred specialists in his service. So that any such personalities in Aql3 religion are directly in the service of either the deities or the ancestors.

At the apex of the hierarchy of sacred specialists who serve on Aql3 deity is "amegäsi". This Aql3 word is of common gender. When used of a man it means a priest and, of course, a priestess when applied to a woman. Literally "amegäsi"

means "wife of a deity" - "amegã" is a male honorific title and "asi", in the present context, is "wife". Usually a priestess is the "wife" of a male deity and a priest the "wife" of a female deity. But there are some deities in Aqlãland which are male yet they have priests as "wives". So that the "priest-deity" relationship, conceived on a marital basis, is rather functional symbolism in which the deity is the "husband", no matter what the sex is, and the priestess or priest the "wife" - the latter serving the former as a wife does her husband in the Aqlã conception of the marital relationship. Hence a priest may be spoken of as "dzonuvi", a deity's cook. In short, "amegãsi" is the one who intimately knows the needs of the deity and caters for them accordingly as a wife for her husband.

The Aqlã people believe that every genuine "amegãsi" is "called" to office by the deity. That is, the initiative always comes from the deity and not from the worshippers. Hence "atopa", the deity of one type of ancestral talking drums, was reminded in a prayer by the ancestral ritual specialist "It is a deity himself who chooses his spouse" and for that matter he must "look around the whole clan..... and possess (catch) two of them" to become the interpreters of his wishes (drummers) (2) It is because of this same reason that the priest of Avanyevi at Aqlãgã died more than 14 years ago but no priest has as yet been ordained.

If ordination to the Aql3 priesthood is by a "call" direct from the deity then it stands to reason that the priesthood in Aql3land is not necessarily hereditary in a sense that a son does automatically succeed his father. Otherwise a new Tɔmisi would have long been ordained since the last priest left behind among many others, five able-bodied and devoted sons any of whom could efficiently discharge the priestly function. That Toti Agbonyo should succeed his father to the priesthood of L3afe Sui is explained by him and some of the elders as a coincidence. But a priest of an Aqlɔ clan deity, for instance, must be a clan member preferably a male descendant of the first ancestor. The senior of the five priests in the service of Nyigblɔ of Afife is always in this relationship to the ancestor to whom the deity was believed to have revealed himself. In the case of the "initiation" deities (3) the successor of a priest is usually called from among the "hunɔwo", the senior cult servants and not from among the "agbasiaɔwo", the junior cult servants (4). Additionally the deity may by-step the assistant priest "ahakua" and "call" some other person. Moreover the general expectation of cult members regarding the successor of a priest is sometimes confirmed. The present Midao, the chief priest, of Yeve cult at Negbegblɔ - kɔfe near Aql3gɔ succeeded his father as was expected. But the present priest of Lɔafe Sui reported that when his father, the late priest, died clan members hoped that

the deity would "call" his uncle. But he rather was "called" from Sekondi over two hundred miles away when he was least expecting it.

Sceptics in Anlɔland are of the opinion that a priestly "call" is usually a camouflage for a real election carried out by cult elders in strict privacy. There may be some element of truth in this especially where a "call" falls in line with the general expectation of the majority of cult members. But for a priestly office to be vacant for over 14 years where even the assistant priest is not very efficient must make the sceptics rethink their stand. Whether "call" or organized secret election jealously guarded against revelation to the laity, to the Anlɔ traditional believer, the priest of the holy is always a personal choice of the holy. Where his choice is confirmed by the holy, he regards it as a coincidence - the voice of the people at times, not always, being the voice of the holy.

A person called to the Anlɔ priesthood is spoken of as "caught by the deity" or "the one with whom the holy wants to stay". Unfortunately this manifestation of the holy in the life of a believer is an unhappy experience to start with. For the "called" person is made to suffer terrible misfortunes and this may continue if he refuses to succumb to the wishes of the holy, or when the reasons for the set-back are not discovered. The priestess Dzienyexe of Avume near Anlɔgã

reported her "call" was heralded by a delirious fever which was on her for three four-day weeks. The present priest of L3afe Sui affirmed that he used to be a prosperous carpenter in Sekondi when he was suddenly struck by a run of misfortunes in an inexplicably alarming rapidity, culminating in a wasting disease which spread unbearable pains all over his body.

Tomisi Avuwada, now dead, his younger brother reported had his "call" through epileptic feets which nearly got him drowned in the lagoon, and which cast him into fire and almost burnt him to death but for the timely appearance upon the scene of relatives who, Afa divination later revealed, "were sent" by the deity to his rescue. But these experiences in themselves are not enough to be "calls" to the priesthood since they are everyday occurrences. The deciding factor is divination by Afa or necromancy in which a deity accepts responsibility for causing his prospective priest the misfortunes in question.

There is no special training before a priest is ordained in Anl3land. Once a deity has specified his choice and divination has confirmed it, ordination follows without question. The priest designate may be a devoted cult servant who is already familiar with the ordinary public duties of a priest. It is after the ordination that he is introduced to the further "mysterica" of the priesthood. If he is not the assistant priest this will be his first time of entering the shrine itself and "seeing" the deity, where the deity - his symbolic

representation - is not meant for "profane" eyes. In case of gross inexperience, the assistant priest continues to officiate for the new priest on important public occasions. The new Nyigblā priest at Aql3gā, a young man in his early thirties, was "called" from the rank and file. Hence the 65 year old assistant priest, who has been in office for more than 20 years, performed the major rites during the 1964 festival. Even if a special training is needed at all it must come after the ordination and it is the "in service" type. The priestess Dzienyere's training came after her ordination and was necessary because she needed, so they say, a rudimentary knowledge of necromancy. It is, however, generally believed that the deity himself teaches his spouse all that is needed through dreams and auditions especially. Many priests have recounted their personal experiences of guidance received through dreams.

Where the priest designate is to fill a vacant post created by death a ceremony is performed to remove the deceased priest officially from office. This is "Sekpuidede" (5). If this ceremony is neglected, it is believed, the old priest is still in power and may be a source of misfortune even death to the new priest.

The ordination of Aql3 priests is a closed circle affair, and the details are not meant for "profane" ears. The principal rites are usually performed by the leader of the society of allied priests. For example a clan priest is ordained by a group of clan priests and a "boko" priest by

"boko" priests' society. The terms for ordination differ from group to group. For "boko" priests it is "zumede"; for necromancers it is "Udedeasi" and for clan deity priests it is "atidedeasi" or "sidedeko".

Since, in Aqlɔland, it is invariably a dangerous manifestation of the holy which intimates a priestly "call" rites of purification are performed as a prelude to the real ordination. This is "zɛlele" "washing evil away". The head is shaved of all hair and the priest designate washes himself with water containing some herbs. A "nuxe" sacrifice is not omitted (6).

The main ordination rites begin with libations to invoke the deity, deceased priests and clan ancestors. Then on his knees before the symbolic representations of the deity the new priest is made to take the vow of office. By this time he must already have been clothed in his official regalia. "Si", the Aqlɔ priests' distinguishing necklace, made from a climbing plant of the same name, is put around his neck. This is "sidedeko". Either blue cloth, "bisi", or white cloth, "aklala" is given him to cover himself according as the deity demands. He may be given a piece of similar cloth as he puts on to cover his head if he is not a "hat" priest. Finally the staff of office is handed over to him. This is usually an ordinary type of walking stick fashioned from a special tree known in Aqlɔ as "ziziti" and which is magically protected. The staff is the symbol of priestly authority. When a priest dies his death is

announced by saying "Ati ge amegäsia si." meaning "the staff of office has dropped from the hand of the priest". This ceremony of handing over the priestly staff to the new priest is "atidedeasi". These main rites are performed usually at night in the shrine while cult or clan elders wait outside.

The ordination is rounded up with the enumeration of priestly taboos by the priests' association and the cult elders. The majority is usually food. Two "behaviour" taboos need special mention: first the priest must avoid contact with corpses, second, he must never appear in public without his special head-cover or necklace.

Generally Aql3 priests fall into two groups (7) - "kukutawo" and "tagbasiawo". The former are higher in the priestly hierarchy and cover their heads with raffia hats. The latter cover their heads with cloth. "Hat" priests must be men in Aql3land. When a "hat" priestess is found in Aql3land it means she, in the usual figure, has become a man - she has ceased from her distinctive female habit of menstruation. The "headcloth" group are either male or female of any age.

In his intermediary capacity between the holy and its worshippers the priest (8) ascertains the wish of the holy through any of the various ways of divination mentioned in this work (9). Hence he may usually be an Afa or Evi diviner. A chief cult diviner is also appointed to help him. The "wife"

of the deity may be the medium as in necromancy. Other priests may make use of chaste children or special cult servants as mediums. In some "vodu" cults music of drums and singing is used to induce possession for the purpose of receiving instructions from the holy. Kwaku, Blekefe, Afetoku and Agbo cults are fair examples. The holy may choose to speak to its spouse through dreams. Hence priests and priestesses pass some of their nights in adjacent apartments to the shrines.

"Ahakua", the assistant priest is the next in the hierarchy of the Aql3 priesthood. He is also believed to receive a personal call to office directly from the holy and he is similarly ordained as the priest. His regalia is much the same as the priest's with the exception of the distinctive priestly necklace and the staff of office. Moreover, the assistant priest cannot wear a raffia hat. He uses a "headcloth". While he is discharging the priestly duties, in the absence of the priest on the grounds of ill-health, old age or death it is not easy to distinguish the assistant from the priest himself. Priestesses in Aql3land do not have assistants.

"Lākawula", the immolator, is the last ritual specialist of importance to be noted in the service of a deity. More often this work is done by the priest. Some deities would like this office to devolve on special persons. Hence in Yeve cult the immolator is "dziyidao". The immolator may also be "called". But usually cult elders suggest some-one, largely the "under-

study", whose appointment is confirmed by the deity through divination.

"Taifoqila" is the sacred specialist in the service of the ancestors in Aqlɔland. He is either the oldest surviving member of the social group or any agnate to whom he may choose to delegate this duty. But where the national ancestors are concerned, the ritual specialists are usually members of the Lɔafe and Amlade clans. Bokɔ Seke and Xefɔnu are the ritual specialists at present in Aqlɔgã, the traditional capital, on civic occasions.

The installation of the ancestral ritual specialist is a simple rite needing no privacy. An elder of the social group pours a libation of gin and water containing corn flour to invoke the attention of their tutelary deities and their ancestors and to present formally to them their new servant. By this time divination may already have expressed the opinion of the ancestors regarding the appointment. The officiating elder refills the calabash with corn flour water, places it seven times in the outstretched palms of the ritual specialist designate and, on the seventh count, he hands it over to him. The new ritual specialist then pours^{has} "first" libation to declare his acceptance of this sacred duty. This ceremony takes place in the court-yard of the premises which house the ancestral shrine and the time is always an early morning of the auspicious day for approaching the ancestors. The installation

ceremony is "trededeasi", "handing over the libation calabash to the new ritual specialist".

Members of the L3afe and Amlade clans need no special installation. Their very birth into these clans is taken to be a "natural" installation ceremony (10) For the part they play in national ancestral rites, the members of these two clans in Anl3land may be likened to the Levites of the Hebrews.

The "tsifodila" may also be the ancestral ritual immolator as in the Eufeme clan of Anl3gã. But the Tarifo stool of Abc has two offices filled by two different people.

A chief in Anl3land is automatically a ritual specialist for the ancestors. But usually he may delegate this duty to an agnatic elder of the social group.

All sacred specialists who are intermediaries between the holy and its worshippers - whether the holy is a deity or an ancestor - do not hold full-time appointment in Anl3land. They have to work to earn their livelihood, and, off-duty, they are largely farmers, fishers, or weavers of the native "kete" cloth. Some people explain the arrangement for worship on special days to be a convenient device to allow these specialists ample time to work for their living.

Anl3 ritual specialists are not celibates. Of course, sex is a main source of ritual defilement to the Anl3 people but no Anl3 holy has ever yet imposed a complete abstention

upon any worshippers. Indeed a priest glories in polygamy and the number of children he has. By this, he lives his religion in a way, since he continually prays to the holy to give many children to the social group so that the worship of the holy "may not be transitory but perennially rooted in the lives of believers." (11).

Nor is physical disability regarded as having any disqualifying effect on a ritual specialist. Though no physically handicapped person is mentioned as ever 'called' to the office of a ritual specialist in Angl3land, the people do not think that this is improbable. This appears a matter of theory rather than of practice. But a person physically disabled after his induction to office remains in power and someone else may hold an acting appointment as long as the disabled priest lives.

It follows naturally that ritual specialists, as noted here, hold life-long appointment. A question of voluntary or forced abdication does not arise at all save with grave consequences for him who starts the move. The punishment from the holy is usually taken to be mental troubles. The former assistant priest of Tomi is now mentally unbalanced and his voluntary abdication is believed to be the cause. But none of the other cult servants has never, for a moment, given thought to the voluntary abdication of a ritual specialist as a likely outcome of mental derangement. To them this is an

impossibility.

Any specialist whose conduct is considered displeasing to the holy, is believed to be removed from office by the holy itself - apparently through death. The sceptics recognize here a secret murder by cult elders disguised as divine punishment inflicted directly by the holy. This may not be unlikely. But in the absence of any solid evidence, a student of Aql3 religion who takes side with these sceptics must know that he, like his informants, is treading on dangerous grounds.

Sacred objects and places

A sacred place as used here refers to any place which is dedicated for formal worship of the holy in Aql3land, and a sacred object is any representation which the Aql3 traditional believer may loosely speak of as the holy itself.

A place for formal communion with the deities in Aql3land may be a large fenced^{*} open^{air} clearing in which stands a one or two room building of mud, roofed with thatch (12). Trees which provide support for the fence may be common plants for therapeutic or ritual use. The two commonplace ones are the newbouldia laevis which in Aql3 is "aviayia" and "anya" which is believed to conduct lightning. More often a place of worship may be a section of a compound type of dwelling house with many other apartments for the wives of a priest and newly

initiated cult servants. The religious secret societies of the Yeve and Da cults use part of their convent for worship purposes. A dedicated place for the worship of a deity is vaguely known in Aql3 as "trəfə", or "vodufe", "the house of a deity". But where the name of the deity is known, the place of worship is particularized - Tomife "the house of Təmi" or "Nyigbläfe" "the house of Nyigblä".

The smaller apartment of the sacred building on the worship grounds, is referred to in this work as the shrine. Here the symbolic representation of the deity is housed. It can only be entered by the priest or his assistant, and it is not intended for communal worship. In it, is a platform of clay or stone just big enough to provide a resting place for the symbolic representation of the deity. Either blue or white cloth is used to cover the "resting" deity. A small pot or calabash stands in front of the platform. It contains "tsita", the potent water which the priest gives a supplicant to drink after prayers have been specially offered for him. Thrust into the ground near the water container, is a rod of iron flattened at the top, This is "asē" or "asəgadzi" where the deity receives supplicants' votive offerings. This type of shrine houses Təmi and Sui for instance because their symbolic representations are not for all worshippers to see. But where worshippers may see the symbolic representation, the shrine is usually a much bigger room and may therefore be only a

one room building. In a shrine as this, the deity is covered and perched on a platform in one of the corners of the room. Relevant here is Avanyevi's shrine at Aql3gä. It is in this room, and in the very presence of the holy that the ordinary every-other-day worship takes place.

Where shrines are small sanctuaries not intended for communal use, there is an adjoining fairly large room where worshippers may congregate. Unlike the shrines they have large windows. Mats and hides of sacrificial animals are arranged in rows along the walls. On these worshippers sit. At the two sides of the door leading into the shrine itself, are placed two carved wooden stools and one or two more. The first two stools are for the use of the priest and his assistant. The others are used by priests from nearby shrines. At the entrance to this common room may be found a forked stick carrying a small pot containing water and some herbs. This water is for the use of anyone for whom it becomes necessary to appear in person before the holy but who is ceremonially defiled probably because of sex or contact with corpse. This pot is conspicuously located in the "house of Afetoku" at Kodzi. "Temple" has been adopted in this work for an Aql3 two-room sacred building in which the comparatively small room is a sanctuary to house the symbolic representation and the bigger apartment is for the use of the laity in worship. So that in Aql3 religion there may be

a shrine without a temple but never a temple without a shrine. The fenced open air clearings or courtyard around a temple or a shrine are largely used by the laity during annual festivals when the temple cannot conveniently accommodate worshippers.

There are usually no paintings or decorations on the walls of Aql3 temples and shrines, except for a few Afa writings of single and double strokes reminiscent of important "du" messages revealed during some previous festivals. On the walls may hang small packets intended to protect the place magically against evil forces. Anti-witchcraft shrines may conspicuously display on their walls confiscated or surrendered objects of witchcraft practice. Some beads, charms and amulets hanging on the inside walls of Afetoku's shrine at Kodzi, the priest affirmed, were salvaged partly from witches and partly from cult women caught in adultery.

Places of formal worship in Afife village form a group by themselves. Apart from the sacred grove on the outskirts of the village, there are, in all, six sacred places of Nyigblā in the village itself. The principal sacred place is the Atckpo. It is this that houses the symbolic representation of the deity. It comprises two square mud walls roofed with thatch and a hut. The outer square has its side about 40 ft. and the inner 20 ft. long. Right in the centre of the smaller square stands a hut about 6ft. high and 3ft. in diameter. The

hut is the real shrine because it is in it that Nyigblā's symbolic representation is housed. The outer square is for the use of any male agnatic member of the Dzevia clan, the general custodian clan of the deity. Only a select few of the cult elders, apart from the five priests of the deity, are allowed within the precincts of the inner square. Even here it is only in cases of grave national disasters like famine, drought and epidemic, when special prayers are offered to the deity. The hut, the shrine itself, receives only one human visitor in all Afife on only one occasion in a year. This visitor is the senior among the five priests and he is related by blood to the ancestor to whom the deity is believed to have revealed himself. The only occasion for entering the shrine is the two festival days of "Trɔ̃adigbe" (13).

For the ordinary every-other-day worship of Nyigblā of Afife are "Kponuwo" which, in the present context, may be translated as "places of prayer". Each "kponu" is for the use of each of the five wards of the village and it is a small thatch-roofed mud hut of about 6ft. diameter and a height of 10ft. situated in a large compound type of house - the official residence of a Nyigblā priest in Afife. The contents of the hut which marks a place of prayer are meant to be known by only the priest and his elders. But from the nature of worship at this place, the hut does not seem to contain any important cultic objects of note apart from "tsita" fetched from inside

for a suppliant to drink; for prayers are offered by the priest in front of the hut near a wooden image with human face. The spirit, believed to dwell in the "pole" image is regarded as a messenger of Nyigblā. So that Nyigblā of Afife is, perhaps, the only deity in Anlɔland who is formally worshipped at a place where he himself - rather his symbolic representation - does not dwell.

Other Anlɔ deities have groves as their shrines. These groves must not be confused with the sacred groves of deities, like Tomi and Sui, who themselves are housed in shrines miles away from these groves. But the groves in question here are real shrines, the actual dwelling places of the deities. Mention may be made here of Konɔmanyaviku and Lāko whose grove shrines are near the trans-lagoon villages of Blamezādo and Tregui respectively. These deities have no sacred specialists whom ritual has interposed between the worshipper and the worshipped. Communion with them is intensely personal; neither does their membership discriminate on racial or credal basis. No special initiation is necessary in the absence of an organized priesthood. All that a suppliant needs do is to secure a bottle of either whisky, gin, rum, or schnapps and enter the grove. He presents his needs and leaves the drink as a votive offering. During festivals these drink-gifts are made use of within the groves by any people who may happen to be present. None is taken home without a dangerous

manifestation of the holy in the affairs of the doer. There is, however, in the service of each of these "international" dieties, someone who may be loosely referred to as a caretaker priest. The deity himself calls him from a nearby village. This personality appears on festival days only for the sole purpose of immolating the sacrificial animals - uncastrated he-goats and male fowls which are self-imposed thank-offerings brought by supplicants whose petitions have been granted.

The shrine of Lāko was visited. This grove is a large thicket which stands conspicuously and, for that matter, unusually on a vast and almost treeless grassland of the surrounding area - no wonder such a supernatural sanctity is so much attached to it. The spectacular things inside the grove itself were only many empty bottles of the drinks already mentioned. About five full bottles of these strong drinks were counted. Dwellers in the villages around believe the drinks are never stolen because Lāko is well known as a dangerously destructive deity whose "nuxe" sacrifice is extremely exacting (14).

Scattered throughout Anlo villages are wayside shrines of Legba, believed to be the general protector of a community. Every traditional Anlo settlement has at least two public Legba shrines - one on the east and the other on the west end of the settlement. A third may be added and this may stand where public assemblies are held. A public Legba shrine is

quite simple; it is a thatch shed over about a four foot clay image with a prominent phallus. Any member of the community who chooses may worship any time near a public Legba image. This, however, is not a common practice in Aql3land. For the Aql3 people prefer to worship at their clan or cult shrines. Public Legba shrines are known in Aql3land as places where the holy likes receiving "nuxe" sacrifices. The frequency of sacrifices to remove the dangerous manifestation of the holy from individuals as well as social groups accounts for the continual presence of decaying animal and vegetable matter in public Legba shrines in Aql3land - not to mention the images themselves which are ever fresh with palm oil and the blood of sacrificial animals (15).

A private Legba image stands in front of a house where an Afa diviner lives or where may be found shrines of the deities or the ancestors. An Afa diviner worships daily in front of his Legba image - usually once a day and in the early morning. But Legba images which protect the shrines of either the clan deities or the ancestors may receive cultic attention on the auspicious days for worship only.

Rooms which house the symbolic representation of the ancestors in Aql3land are usually within the precincts of the lineage house. It may be an ordinary Aql3 "bedroom size" room of 14ft. square in a large building as the Adzovia shrine at Aql3gã. A separate building of the same size may suffice,

for instance, for the Agave clan at Aql3gã. But the Evifeme clan of Aql3gã, and Abc town may have a special two room building - a temple - specially set aside for the cult of the ancestors.

The contents of an ancestral shrine are not very different from those of the deities. The main difference, of course, is the symbolic representations and which must be compulsorily covered with white cloth in the case of the ancestors.

The sanctity of an ancestral shrine does not in any way preclude worshippers from entering, provided ceremonial purity is strictly observed. A supplicant may enter with one or two relatives while the ritual specialist offers prayers to the ancestors on his behalf.

Each lineage has only one ancestral shrine in Aql3land. So also are the major clan deities. There is only one Tcmi shrine for the Adzovia clan in all Aql3land. A "vodu" deity may be housed in more than one shrine - Afëtoku is at both Kodzi and Dagbamate; Kwaku and Blekete shrines are numberless. The existence of two shrines each of Sui and Nyigblã in Aql3land appears a peculiar duplication. The cult of Amlade Sui is believed to be instituted by a group of deviants who carried away some of the deity's sacred emblems when they broke away from the parent L3afe clan which also has a separate Sui cult. That this is a duplication is shown by the performance of the same ritual by members of these two

clans during public worship of the national ancestors (16). The Dzevia clan of Aql3land are the custodian clan of Nyigblā of Aql3gā and of Afife. Major rites and taboos are basically the same in these two communities. This may, perhaps, suggest a duplication. But it is difficult, almost hazardous, to attempt an explanation for the duplication.

As for Legba, he allows his shrines to be infinitely multiplied in any single Aql3 community. But so expensive it is to have the shrine built that many in the community attach themselves to the public Legba shrines. So that, as far as the distribution of shrines are concerned in Aql3land, with the exception of the ancestors and the clan deities, any other holy that is formally worshipped, may be housed in more than one shrine at the same time.

For reasons of reverence, all those who wish to be admitted within the precincts of formal places of worship in Aql3land, must bare their feet as well as head to waist. Women, however, are allowed the use of wrappers for the breast with headties to hold them in place.

The symbolic representations of the ancestors in Aql3land are usually carved wooden stools not intended for sitting purposes. Hence the name "zikpuixɔ" "stool room" for an ancestral shrine and "zikpuinuwoɔ" "stool festival" for ancestral festivals. Bones of wild animals, iron swords, and gongs may be put together with the stools and may be

accorded similar reverence as the stools. These objects are intended to glorify the power of the ancestors and do not come within the scope of sacred objects of this section.

The deities, on the other hand, are variously represented. From the symbolic representation of grandmother Asife and grandfather Tsali, both of whom exemplify apotheosis in Anlɔland, it seems Anlɔ deified ancestors are symbolically represented by the lower human jaws believed to be those of the deities in their human days. Avanyevi of the Smiths is constantly represented in Anlɔland by a hammer and an anvil. Other deities may prescribe objects of their own fancy (17).

Symbolic representations of the holy - whether of the ancestors or the deities - cannot leave their shrines except during the annual festivals. In the shrine they must always remain veiled usually from the sight of worshippers by a covering of white or blue cloth.

The use of physical objects as representation for the holy, has heavily burdened Anlɔ religion with confusion that may arise in any religion in which some believers are unable to distinguish between a symbol and what is symbolised. Doubtless many Anlɔ traditional believers take the symbolic objects to be the holy itself. This error many of them unqualifyingly affirmed in answers to questions put to them during the 1964 annual festivals. But they appeared completely at a loss when they were asked to reconcile their belief which regarded

the holy as coming to their rescue when they prayed in trouble miles away from the shrine, with the belief that the holy was indeed the physical object locked up in the shrine. Additionally, an elder of the Dzevia clan at Aql3gã~ considered it the usual irreverence of Christians for the traditional believers' holy and turned away in great anger when he was asked to explain how the Aql3 belief in Nyigblã, as a warrior carrying a spear and riding a horse, could be reconciled with his strong belief that the small object in the shrine was also Nyigblã himself.

On the other hand some Aql3 people are fully aware that these objects are mere symbols representing personal spirit beings. "Gbaku is spirit and if the laity are allowed to see his symbolic representation, they may probably lose respect for him". This is the answer Anaglate Afetogbo, an elder of the Bamee clan at Aql3gã, gave to explain why he thought the rank and file of believers should not be permitted to see the sacred objects which represent the holy. But it also aptly testifies that there are, at least, some Aql3 traditional believers who are not unaware that a sacred object is not the holy itself.

Finally, the use of symbols in an approach to the holy in a religion largely ritualistic as Aql3 religion is, may provide a concrete outlet for the expression of the inner spiritual urge. It may also assist concentration since the

Aql3 people are not used to speculative reverence. But the reverse side of the coin is the undue mixing up of a symbol with what is symbolised. In short, "fetishism" as idolatry, may show its ugly head in any religion, whether "lower" or "higher", in which some believers cannot realize any distinction between sacred objects, as symbols, and the holy. Be this as it may, it is interesting to note that the presence of this confusion in Aql3 religion does not seem to detract anything from the fervour and the efficacy of religion in the life of the ordinary Aql3 traditional believer.

NOTES: Chapter VI

1. Since Aql3 traditional religion is ritualistic, sacred specialists are also ritual specialists on the whole. The two are used interchangeably in this work.
2. App. B. No.12.
3. For "initiation" deities refer Chap.III above.
4. However this does not seem all that much clear-cut.
- The present priest of Nyigblã of Aql3gã was "called" from the rank and file of believers.
5. For "Sekpuideqe" see the following chapter.
6. For "nuxe" sacrifice refer Chap. IX below.
7. App. A. or B. No.53.
8. The name of an Aql3 priest as "tr3nu" is meaningful here for this Aql3 word means "the mouth of the deity". In short, as "tr3nu", the priest is the one through whom the deity makes his will known to his worshippers.
9. For common methods of divination in Aql3land, refer Chapter V above.
10. See, e.g. App. B. No.29 and 30 for the "Levitical" function of the L3afe and the Amlade clans in ancestral rites in Aql3land.
11. See e.g. App. B. No. _1, 62.
12. Many buildings for Worship in Aql3land are now erected with cement blocks and roofed with corrugated iron or aluminium sheets. Afife, however, is still uncompromisingly faithful to the traditional use of clay or mud and

thatch.

13. For "trɔ̃adigbe" refer Chap. III above.

14. See Note 6 above.

15. Hence the saying "Legba agbó manya hiɛ; gbesiagbe azɛ̃dugbe". "Legba the great! You do not know poverty; you are daily in a festive mood". This is rather a rare saying now known largely to only the elderly in the community.

16. Refer note 10 above.

17. For the symbolic representations of the deities refer Chap. III above.

C H A P T E R V I I

PERSONAL RELIGIOUS RITES

It is not proposed in this chapter to give a detailed account of the life cycle in Agloland. It is the religious observances involved that will receive attention (1).

When a woman becomes pregnant, the Aglò people take many precautions to guard against abortion likely to be caused by sorcerers and witches. A magician witch-doctor is called in to perform the rite of "fulili". A charm, "fuli", is prepared, tied to a string and put around the waist of the expectant mother. As long as the charm remains on the person of the mother-to-be, it is believed, the baby will remain safe in the womb. During labour, it is very quickly removed else the baby cannot leave the womb and the result may be harmful to both baby and mother. If husband and wife are not on good terms at this time, a ceremony is performed to bring them together. This is "nugbedodo". The ritual specialist here is usually an Afa diviner. A number of herbs is collected and put into a pot of water. The husband and wife wash their heads, faces, arms and feet, then fill their mouths with some of the water and spew it away saying three times. "May (the spirit of) enmity go whence it has come". The family deities and ancestors may have already been invoked to be witnesses to the ceremony and may have been implored to see to it that peace is restored so that their grandchild to be born may be safe and sound.

"Fuke", a similar magical preparation as "fuli", is worn to protect the person of the expectant mother as "fuli" protects the unborn baby. "Blatso" is another rite which protects the person of both the mother and the baby. When "fuli" and "fuke" charms are worn and yet the mother appears to be frequently in bad health, Afa may be consulted. Very often "Blatso" is advised. According to this rite, the expectant mother lies down on her back. The ritual specialist who in many cases is at the same time a diviner, magician herbalist and a witch-doctor ties the body at seven convenient places with a creeping plant. He goes away for about ten minutes. On his return he asks the person tied what the matter is. She replies "I am in the strings of poverty, misfortune, illness and death." Then the ritual specialist cuts off the strings saying, "To-day I have freed you from the strings of poverty, misfortune, illness and death". The pieces with some herbs are soaked in a new pot of water. After a bath, the expectant mother washes herself with this cold water saying "May all misfortunes and death go whence they have come". This is done daily for seven days and as often as required till the baby is born.

For the first seven days - four days in days of old - after birth, the baby and the mother do not leave the bedroom. The mother only sneaks out at dawn and dusk to have her bath. Entrances to the room are also securely protected with magical

charms to drive away evil spirits and the spirit companions "hawo" or "kplamedoqoeawo" whom the baby has left behind in the pre-earthly spirit home. Otherwise they may turn back the baby to the spirit pre-earthly home. The baby itself is believed to possess a "shadowy" personality soul. As such only very close relatives know of the birth for the first seven days after birth - to be sure witches and sorcerers are kept at a distance.

On the seventh day the baby is ceremonially taken out of the room. This is "vihehedego". Early in the morning before sunrise a person of the same sex as the baby and born on the same day of the week takes the child outside for the first time. A libation of corn flour water and gin is poured to the ancestors into whose protection the baby is handed. In earlier days "megbekpokpo", the ceremony to find out if the baby has any ancestor reincarnated in him, was usually performed on this day. If he happens to be, in the naming ceremony, the child is given the name of the ancestor as "ahanonko" "drink-name". The real reincarnation rites may be deferred till a later date (2). At the same time, more protective charms are prepared and put round the neck, waist, and ankles of the baby. His excrement for the next six months is stored up and thoroughly hidden from the sight of sorcerers who are believed to be able to harm the baby should they get access to the excrement. The placentas and the umbilical cords are also securely buried.

from the sight of wicked people. Nurses in hospitals have found a most lucrative trade in selling these to anxious parents at exorbitant prices.

Names given babies may, at times, be "gift-names" compounded with the names of some deities. The most common deities are Afa and Se. "Afanyo", "Afa is kind to me"; "Afagbedzi", "in accordance with the revelation of Afa" or "I shall always do what Afa tells me;" "Senanu" "This is from my destiny;" all these names show that childless parents in Agboland may specially pray to the holy for children.

But of special importance and needing more attention is "dofefle" "buying a womb". This is a rite performed in the shrine of some deities for childless parents to have children. Grandmother Zio, a deity at Afife village, whose worship is now almost merged with that of Grandfather Nyigblā, is perhaps, the leading deity from whom wombs are bought. Usually this is one of the very final and desperate attempts at having children. The couple may have by now appealed to their family ancestors and deities without success. For this ceremony supplicants provide two bottles of gin, a special measure of corn weighing about two pounds and an amount of four shillings and sixpence. In earlier days the cash payment was ten cowries. The couple are taken to the sacred grove of the deity by the priest and about six other ritual specialists including a woman who must be a mother but who has now reached her menopause. After a

prayer of invocation accompanied by a libation of corn flour water, the husband and wife are ceremonially made to sit on a new stool purposely brought for this rite. Both of them are forbidden to sleep with any other person for at least 16 continuous days. Water containing some herbs is then fetched from "Ziogba", the deity's pot, and the couple bathe themselves. This bath is believed to ward off all evil forces which have hitherto prevented the couple from having children. Finally, cool water which stands always before the deity is given the couple to drink so as to get them mystically united with the deity. Children called Mago, Aqoko, Kosi, Klu, Klufi, all meaning a slave, are "bought womb" children. They are dedicated to the deity. Their hair is not cut. The first cutting is ritually done by the priest in the shrine of the deity. "Taxoko" is this ceremonial first cut of hair and means "receiving back the head". For this ceremony are required a bottle of gin and a shaving knife. The shaved hair is kept in the shrine till such time that the child, as a grown up, brings the specified thank offering incumbent upon children of "bought womb" parents. After the head of the child "is received back" he is no more the deity's but belongs fully to the parents.

"Kabobo" is the special thank offering. Each "bought womb" person is expected to present himself with two each of knife, mat, two yards of blue cloth, two yards of white cloth

and two yards of fancy cloth. A cash payment of 36/- should not be omitted. After the gifts have been ceremonially presented to the deity and her blessings invoked upon them, one of each kind of the gifts is returned to the supplicant. The deity receives the rest and the money gift in full. After this ceremony, all connections may be severed with the deity. But often many choose to remain voluntarily under the protection of the deity. They attend annual festivals in honour of the deity or send donations if they cannot be present. During the annual festival in February 1964 about sixty people including about twenty Christians presented themselves before the deity at Afife for "Kabobo" ceremony.

Not all those who buy womba are blessed with children and many of those who have become mothers after "buying a womb" remarked that they also subjected themselves to herbal treatment from native doctors and specialists at Government Hospitals. One such woman reported that she had medical treatment for eight years from western trained doctors but all came to nothing. Just two months after she had "bought a womb" from grandmother Zio, she became pregnant and had a boy and now she could boast of four children. It is difficult under such circumstances to convince the traditional believers that the long period of medical attention was responsible, even in part, for making them fertile. To them it must be all the doing of their deity.

One often hears some children called "Glikpo" "Broken wall", "Atukpa" "Bottle", "Adukpo" "Rubbish heap". These are "dzikuidzikui" "born-to-die" children who survive after a number has died in immediate succession not long after their birth. In Angloland, as in many other parts of the world, the name has a mystical connection with the person of the bearer. These "worthless" names are given these children to prove to any wicked spirit powers that the bearers are nothing worthwhile to possess. In this way men think that they can outwit evil spirit powers who may be hovering round to harm babies.

Twins form another category of abnormal birth which require the performance of special religious rites in Angloland. This is "evewwo". A few days after the children are born, the rite of "alototro" is performed. A special climbing plant or raffia is tied around the neck, waist, wrist, ankles and knees of the twins and the left wrist of the parents. The Anglo people regard twins as supernatural beings and this rite meaning "to change hands" is directed towards making them identify themselves fully with the human life they have themselves chosen to live. The twins, through this rite, are separated from their group of supernatural beings whom they have left behind in the spirit world and who make furious attempts to take them away. Their parents too must have the "numen" of the twin spirit removed from their persons; hence the tying of a creeping plant to their left wrists.

Later in life another rite is performed. This gives rise to "venavize", two pots with water containing herbs. Each pot belongs to each twin. The spirit of twins is believed to inhabit the pots and as long as the pots are well looked after the children are safe. When a twin is sick, he washes himself with the water. Money gifts are regularly put into the pots as offering to the twin spirit. The coins in the "twin pots" can only be used by either the twins or their parents or to whom these have chosen to donate them. Any people who pilfer a few coins from a "twin pot" are believed to be struck by the twin spirit with kleptomania till confession is made and their persons ceremonially purified. On the whole, twins presage good omen and are believed to bring immeasurable prosperity to their parents.

Parents of twins also have their rites. The one studied for this work was that of Atsu Agba of Avume near Anlõgã. The performance, long over due, was precipitated by a run of misfortunes which made this man lose a lucrative trade as a fisherman and finally he himself was bedstricken with a wasting undiagnosed disease. Afa divination revealed that his dead wife with whom he had had twins more than fifteen years ago, was the cause because she could not enter the company of the parents of twins in the land of the dead for all these three years she had died.

The rites began with a communal meal cooked with fowls

and corn flour mixed with palm oil. Part was presented to the dead and the rest eaten by the husband and other parents of twins and twins. This ceremonial cooking could be omitted if the rite was not posthumous in case of the wife.

"Evetsoṭṛ3" is solely for the living parents of twins, and it is meant to take away the "numen" of the twin spirit from them. All twins and parents of twins invited to the ceremony must take along a small quantity of maize about a quarter pound in weight and four cowries (3). The ritual specialist, as on all other occasions involving twins, were elderly women in their fifties at least who themselves were parents of twins and had also gone through the rites. The person for whom the rite was being performed sat on a new mat. A prayer was offered to invoke the spirit of twins. Then, one by one, those who had brought the gift of corn and cowries came forward and poured them into a huge reed bag saying three times. "Metsṛ3 eve na wò egbea". "Today I have taken away the "numen" of the twin spirit from you". While this went on, the leader of the ritual specialists continued reciting a ritual saying - How the couple got married, and the wife became pregnant and at birth twins were born. Then the rite of "alotoṭṛ3" was performed. But "evewoẉ3" was not. Now that they were doing it, when all rites had been duly performed, all misfortunes should leave Atsu Agba and go to their place of origin. This also must qualify the dead wife to join

the company of dead parents of twins. Throughout the whole ceremony from early morning till dusk, a twin-whistle locally made from wood, was blown. The purpose was to invoke not only the twin spirit but also all dead twins and parents of twins to be witnesses to the ceremony so that when the one for whom the ceremony was performed died, he might gain admission into the "twin" society in the land of the dead.

A late toddler may be taken to a shrine for the deity "to strengthen" his ankles and knees. A votive offering of three pence or more and a pint of gin is presented. He is washed with a herbal mixture and a piece of twisted blue and white cloth tied around his knees. As soon as the child becomes a perfect walker, a thank offering of twelve shillings, a bottle of gin, 2 yards blue cloth and white cloth are taken to the deity. Here the ritual specialist is always a priestess.

Obviously because of unhealthy conditions and malnutrition that are rife in developing lands like Angloland, many more children than may normally be expected die in infancy. There are, therefore, very frequent visits to shrines and homes of witch-doctors to get protection against the wicked among the spirit powers and human beings who make an easy prey of children..

In the past, circumcision used to take place between the ages of five and ten. It was not earlier than five because a child, thus circumcised, was believed to have the potency

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of his male organ impaired. It was also a collective affair, in probably every six months or more in one village. This was not because the rite had any special initiatory implications as in some other world societies (4). It was all because the circumciser was itinerant and only very few men then made an occupation of it. Only two observances need be noted here. Firstly, few hours after circumcision an older child whose circumcision wound had healed much quicker and with little complication as possible was called in. The mother of the newly circumcised prepared pap with guinea corn flour. The older child took a mouthful and then put another into the mouth of the newly circumcised. The two then together ate the remaining pap from the same plate. The object of this rite was to transfer from the older child to the newly circumcised, the spirit power believed to aid a quick healing of circumcision wound. Secondly, when the wound was completely healed, the rite of "Talũlũ" was performed. The circumcision wound was inflicted by knife and, like all other wounds from "lānu", weapons, it was regarded to be closely bound up with evil spirits which might continue to plague the child with similar wounds if these spirits were not removed from his person. The head of the child was shaved completely and his body bathed by an Afa diviner with water containing the appropriate herbs. While bathing him the ritual specialist continued saying "V3 ne yi v3w6 de",

"may misfortune return whence it has come". Once this was done the 'numen' dangerous to the person of the child was believed to be removed.

Nowadays circumcision may be done any time from the seventh day after birth and it is almost completely stripped of any religious rites, known in the days of the forbears. Asked why this is so, Adzaxo, an elder of the Adzovia clan in Anlogã replied "These days the whitemen have brought us things, like penicillin, which heal the wound in no time". In other words, the old man may be interpreted to mean that with the spread of scientific knowledge and a better understanding of the world of nature, some traditional practices and even beliefs may be done away with.

Marriage is purely a social affair with practically no significant religious side. But before an engagement the parents of the two parties seeking to be joined in wedlock, severally consulted Afa to find out if the match would be a good one. If a good one, then the consent of the family ancestors and the deities was sought. Once Afa had presaged a good omen, it was rather rare that the family deities and ancestors would say something different. These "supernatural" assurances are now very largely a thing of the past.

But nowadays, like the days of old, the ancestors must receive the first draught of the gin "tabiaha", which a young man gives the family of the woman he proposes to marry. So

also must the family deities be given their share. The aim is to invoke their blessings upon the marriage more especially the blessing of children. During a marriage feast bits of food may be casually thrown on the ground for the ancestors by the devout. Once the first draught of the "engagement drink" has been offered them, their neglect in any later celebrations cannot adversely affect the marriage.

A special religious rite is performed by any man who desires to marry a widow. An amount, now fixed at three pounds (5) is paid to the family of the deceased husband. This is a refund for the expenses the family of the deceased husband have incurred in helping the bereaved wife to perform the rites of ceremonial mourning. This refund is believed to remove the hands of the deceased husband from the marriage his widow is about to contract. The neglect of this payment is believed to be very detrimental to the new couple. Even their children may be affected. Some say that "dzikuidzikui", "born-to-die" children are, at times, the result of the wilful neglect of this rite.

It is death in the Anlo life cycle that is saddled with very elaborate religious rites. To all intents, they are largely meant to dissociate on the one hand, and unify on the other. In other words, they help the dead to sever all connections, at least the harmful, with the living and get admitted into the various societies in the land of the dead.

In Aqlɔ thought death is both natural and unnatural. The natural, "good", death is in old age and according to the dictates of one's destiny, Se. Bad deaths are unnatural and include death in accidents, in war, from snake bite, from wounds inflicted by weapons, "lānu", in peace time, from suicide and drowning, at childbirth, from diseases which make a person swell and execution as a criminal. In the past those who died naturally were buried at home, more especially in their bedrooms. Children were laid to rest behind the house. The final resting place for those who died unnaturally was outside the village. Any ward "to" in an Aqlɔ settlement, Tagba by name, in these days, is a living testimony to the burial ground of bad death people - In Aqlɔgā, the traditional capital, the Evangelical Presbyterian Church stands firmly on this site (6).

Death can be caused by sorcerers and witches. So the Aqlɔ people take great trouble to discover the cause of death. A dying man may at times reveal this. In the absence of this, Afa is consulted. For more "authentic" information the living go to necromancers who claim to invoke the dead. This is "xɔyɔyɔ". That revelations during necromancy, not infrequently are the cause of life-long family feuds cannot be exaggerated. The extended family system of the Aqlɔ people can help one imagine the enormity of the havoc caused by such revelations. But those who engage in necromancy say it helps. For the

family of the deceased require such knowledge not so much for the ends of revenge as to prevent such losses in the future. Anyway the havoc is too monstrous and necromancy for the purpose of discovering a person who has caused the death of another, is not worth the trouble at all.

When a corpse is being carried for burial it is believed, it can supernaturally direct the bearers into the premises of its killer should the death be unnatural (7). This does not seem to have any support among the Anlo people. It is rather the affair of the "Tɔqu" people, the north-western Ewe neighbours of the Anlo people and has not even as yet infiltrated into north Anlo land.

Some dying people are believed to make confessions. It is witches and sorcerers who do it most. They give detailed accounts of their evil deeds and it becomes so great a stain on the prestige of the family of these dead people that in the last minutes of suspected witches and sorcerers, it is only the closest relatives that stand by. Whether such confessions are real or not is another question. But to the Anlo people they are, because it is largely the suspects who do this.

A deadman of means is feared to blight the prosperity of what he has left behind. On the day that a man who has a herd of cattle dies a fat cow is slaughtered to accompany the deceased to the land of the dead. If the death occurs just before harvesting crops, a few of the proceeds from his farm

must accompany him that his hands may be taken off the harvest.

The corpse is well washed and laid in state. In the past, during the bath, the mouth of the dead was washed with water and stored in a receptacle. It served the purpose of divination. In those days when writing was unknown this water was used to test the sincerity of any person who might refer to the dead as his debtor. Before payment was made by the family of the dead, a very small drop of this mouthwash was put into a quantity of water and this was drunk by the creditor. The creditor was believed to be struck with a wasting disease and to die later if his purpose was just to cheat.

Relatives and friends bring gifts to the deceased to take along to the land of the dead. A money gift is meant to help the dead pay any expenses they are believed to make on their journey to their new world. Spouses bring special gifts like a new sponge, towel and soap. "This is your part of the things with which we used to have our bath. Henceforth you have no right to make use of mine". So says a living spouse while presenting the gifts.

Many funeral dirges are sung accompanied by hand clapping rattle and gong in the room where the corpse lies in state. Any one who wishes to get an idea of the Anglo view of the Hereafter must only sit beside the old ladies who sing dirges at funerals.

When the corpse is about to be taken away for burial, the oldest surviving member of the family pours a libation of corn flour water and gin to the deceased. The object is to incite him against his killer should the death be unnatural. The ancestors are also requested to receive the deceased into their company.

The burial itself is a very hurried affair. There is a very quick dash back home when burial is outside the house or the village. Nowadays all are buried in a public or a lineage cemetery except where the deceased is a Christian in which case he may be laid to rest in the Christian cemetery. However, chiefs and leading priests and priestesses are still buried secretly at home and empty coffins carried for disposal in the public cemetery. This is not an unnecessary waste of money. Necrophagers are always on the warpath for the corpses of these people which are believed to supply very potent ingredients for harmful magic. If the living do not take the necessary precautions to prevent an unlawful exhumation, the spirit of the deceased is believed to wreak vengeance by plaguing the living with all kinds of misfortunes.

Care is also taken to see that the soil removed in digging a grave is put back and the top of the grave covered with different soil. The belief is that should someone be responsible for the death, this man goes in search of this soil which he may use in a magical rite "to chain the mouth" of the

deceased against revelation.

At times a grave may be dug and it may become necessary to bury the deceased somewhere else. Usually a cat is buried in the unused grave. The aim is to appease the earth spirit who has been formally informed of the arrival of a visitor (8). Otherwise she herself will claim a human victim from among the relatives of the deceased.

If a person dies far away from home and it is not likely that the corpse can be conveyed home for burial, the nail clippings and bits of the hair are taken home for a second burial. One such ceremony witnessed at Aql3gã was of a young man who died in Liberia. Another, at Woe, was of another young man who died in his mother's home town, Anecho in the Republic of Togo, and the corpse buried there. The latter ceremony reflects a patrilineal observance which demands that as much as possible the deceased must be buried with "the fathers".

All other Aql3 clans except the Blu, keep a vigil on the fourth night after the day of burial. The Blu clan which observes this vigil on the seventh night, some people believe, was probably instituted for all strangers who have not been able to get assimilated into the original Aql3 clans. The purpose of the vigil is much the same as that before Ancestral Stool festivals (9). It has an added advantage of proving to the dead that he is greatly mourned so that he rests himself

peacefully in the land of the dead.

The following day is "Yɔfɔgbe". If the deceased is buried outside the house, a group of people, led by the ancestral ritual specialist, go to the graveyard early in the morning. They take along pap prepared with roasted maize flour. A small hole a few inches deep, is dug on the grave and the pap put into it. A libation of corn flour water and gin for invocation may have already been poured. The spirit of the deceased is then invited to follow the living to the ancestral house. A shot may be fired at the graveside and this is intended to frighten the spirit of the deceased from the cemetery to the place where he is wanted. This is "amekpɔkpɔ", "leading the departed spirit home".

Back home the ceremony of "yɔdzogbonono" "drinking the funeral pap" is observed. In earlier days this pap used to contain a few drops of the stored mouthwash of the deceased. It is only wives who observe this rite which is believed to serve the purpose of divination - to expose any of them should they have a hand in their husband's death. The guilty may die from an illness which makes the body swell "tetedɔ". Against this illness, it is believed, there is no cure.

For about three to four months, relatives, at least very close ones, do not go to work but sit round where the mortuary rites are being performed to receive sympathizers. If the deceased belongs to various social groups, drumming societies

for instance, members come to pay their last respects. Relatives may also invite members of their own organizations to honour the dead. This is why drumming and dancing occupy practically the whole period. Indeed the graph of alcohol and food consumption at this time is at its maximum. But in many cases, the gifts in kind and money help to pay off the bills. The ignorant may consider the Agbo people wasteful. All these are to render the performance of the rites efficacious and this makes the dead rest peacefully in the land of the dead; and the living too, here, have peace and are blessed with life many times more abundant than what has been spent on the mortuary rites.

Nevertheless, some there are who do not cut their coat according to their cloth. Unable to pay for the funeral debt, young girls might be sent into slavery, "awoba", to render service to cover payment. This is, however, a matter of history now though it occupies sorry pages.

The deceased may belong to some religious organizations. He may be a cult servant of a deity, "a vestal virgin" "fiaside", or a member of the society of Afa diviners "bokowo". Simply, he may have been initiated to achieve a mystical union with the holy and with fellow men. This bond must be broken. Else it is dangerous to both the deceased and the living. "Agbakaklā" and "Sekpuideqe" are the two rites for this.

The two "agbakaklā" ceremonies specially witnessed were

both in the traditional capital. One of Afa diviners for Butoguti Sokpo and the other of "vodu" Adudu for Lumavi. The latter was tape recorded and will be discussed here (10). It formed part of the general annual festival of the deity. At three o'clock in the afternoon of the 23rd of February 1964, the last of the three days of the festival, the priest took a male fowl, palm oil, gin, corn flour, ginger grains, and gunpowder and went to a crossroads. He was accompanied by the chief cult diviner, two other men including the song leader "hesino" and three women. There were two libations for invocation. One to the deceased, and the other to the deity and earlier departed cult servants to be witnesses. The male fowl was slaughtered by cutting the throat with a knife and part of the entrails and blood rushed to a nearby Legba image. The rest of the sacrificial animal was cooked and porridge with palm oil prepared. Part was given the deceased to eat separately and all the living ate theirs communally to re-establish the bond of unity with the holy and with themselves. By eating his separately the deceased was formally made aware that he no longer belonged to the cult of the living. The gunpowder was put beside the food for the deceased. So also were the ginger grains, maize-beer, and gin. As the priest later explained, these various things were the deity's prescription to be supplied by anyone who sought admission into the cult. At death they were returned to him so that he could use them

for initiation into the cult in the land of the dead. Finally a herbal mixture which was used as water throughout the ceremony, was used to put out the fire ceremonially lit for cooking the sacrificial meal. This signified that the last flame of the personal presence of the deceased, that might be flickering here among the living was put out for good. His membership on earth was terminated and the living could safely forget him, without fear that the abundant life which the living were mostly in need of, would be tampered with. The atmosphere of joy in which the communal meal was taken was abruptly replaced by that of deep sorrow and the women, one of them a sister of the deceased, could not hold back their tears.

All other cult, dead, even babies who died at child-birth and aborted pregnancies, were remembered to make sure no one was omitted and the peace of the living later disturbed.

"Sekpuideqe", basically similar to the ceremony just described, is performed for only deceased chiefs, priestesses and priests. This ceremony must of necessity be performed before a successor is even appointed let alone installed. A priest for instance is ceremonially installed and after death he must be ceremonially removed from office. Otherwise, on the basis of contagious magic, his person is still connected with the official cult, usages and this is dangerous to the person of his successor who must also make use of the same

usages. "Sekpuideqe" then is the ritual removal of "the hands" of the deceased priest from the cult leadership.

It was the "sekpuideqe" for Tomisi Avuwada, the late priest of Tomi, that was specially studied. It took place on Saturday the 28th of December 1963 though the priest had died the previous May. This is all because the mortuary rites for political and religious leaders in Aql3land are largely a national affair and need to be organized in a way befitting the dignity of these people. The ritual specialist on this occasion was the priestess Logosi of Woe. She officiated in her capacity as the one who bathed the symbolic representation of the deity during annual festivals and also the only one apart from the priest and his assistant, who could "see" the deity.

A small clay image of the late priest was made and dressed in priestly fashion. The officiating priestess first poured a libation in the shrine while all others including about thirty priests and priestesses waited in the large fenced precincts of the shrine. Coming out of the shrine, she poured another libation for invoking the deity and the deceased priest. She stated the purpose of the ceremony in a rich ritual language. This could not be recorded because it was felt it would interfere with the efficacy of the ceremony. The gist was simply this. Much as the living still wished him, the deceased, to be their priest, he himself had left them through death. As such, according to custom, they

had gathered to remove him from office. Once this was done he should rest himself peacefully in the land of the dead so that the living too should be "at peace". A similar libation was poured in front of the main entrance to the fenced precinct. Finally the deceased was implored to come along to his new abode.

All present about 150 strong left the cult house in a single file towards the lagoon. The deity's, "vestal virgins" were in front followed by female and male cult servants; priestesses and priests came next. The ritual specialist carrying a calabash in which stood the one foot clay image of the deceased priest, brought up the rear.

A small thatched hut about 18 inches high and 8 inches diameter had already been made a few yards from the edge of the lagoon. All stood round it. The ritual specialist then placed the image in front of the hut. "Tomisi Avuwada! A savage dog cannot lie where a tiger rests! It is not we who have removed you from office. It is you who have left us. Having left us, you have removed yourself from office. Safe journey to the land of the dead. Abundant life to us the living and be a guide for your successor". After the speech, or better prayer, the ritual specialist pushed the image into the hut. All returned quietly home without looking back - Unlike the going when the priests and priestesses were all ringing their small bells as a last respect to the head priest,

the deceased.

Back in the cult house, all washed their feet, arms, and faces with water containing some herbs to remove from their persons the dangers of any spirit powers who might have clung to them during the ceremony.

A surviving spouse must observe a period of ceremonial mourning for the deceased partner. This ceremony may be performed fairly long after the death of a spouse. But a wife, immediately she hears of the death of her husband, if she is not pregnant, must start wearing very securely and always the usual traditional piece of cloth for covering the private parts. Else the husband's spirit is believed to copulate with her resulting in a "lasting pregnancy". In addition, if she neglects putting a piece of charcoal into her food - this is not eaten anyway - the husband's spirit may partake and this is believed to be dangerous to her. Moreover, she must by now have gone through the rite of "yɔdzogbɔnono", drinking the special pap to prove her innocence in her husband's death.

"Ahowɔwɔ" ceremony for a wife is financed by the relatives of the deceased husband. A husband pays his own expenses. A widow must of necessity perform this rite before re-marrying. A widower is not bound to if only he performs it later - the sooner the better.

For this ceremony are required a new mat and new cooking utensils. The ritual specialists are a man and a woman who

have once been widowed and have themselves gone through the ceremony. The ceremony begins in the evening of a day after the local market day. The bereaved is taken to cross-roads, shaved of all hair and bathed by a ritual specialist of the same sex. New sponge, soap and towel are used. During the bath the ritual specialist says "Today we have taken him away from you. May he go and settle peacefully in the land of the dead, and give you too peace here". Back at home, the bereaved is led into and taken out of^a/specially prepared "widow" room, seven times over. On the seventh she is left in the room. She sleeps on the new mat^{and}/cooks her own food inside the room. A relative in the same house who has once gone through the ceremony, may cook for her. She must not answer any knock on the door except the person shows his face. For it is believed that the deceased husband makes all attempts to get reunited with his wife. So also a deceased wife to her surviving husband. The period of confinement for a husband is seven days at the longest. For a wife there is a seven day intensive confinement. But she must continue the ceremonial mourning for at least 16 months. No tangible reason for this discrimination could be supplied by all those asked. "It is because they are women" many men remarked. It appears to be the outcome of men thinking themselves superior to women and the consideration of a wife as part of^a/husband's "personal effects".

"Ahotsilele", ceremonial washing away of mourning, ends the period of confinement. In the previous evening "Zāmeyiyi" takes place. The widow is led to the beach at the coast or to a creek inland. She steps into the water. If she has committed adultery during the period of mourning she will be carried away by the water except she confesses. The next day the woman dresses herself in a new cloth she has worked hard to buy during her period of confinement. There is "nukaka" which received a longer attention in the cult of the dead. There is no "zāmeyiyi" for a widower because in Aqloland a surviving husband cannot commit adultery against a deceased wife owing to the very nature of the social set-up which is polygamous. A widower, then, observes only the ceremonial cooking for his deceased wife to end the period of ceremonial mourning.

The final mortuary rite is "Yofewwo" and may be performed at least once in a decade. It can, for convenience, be deferred for even about thirty years as that discussed in this work shows (11).

There are practically no mortuary rites for those who die bad deaths. The more hurried the disposal of the body and short-lived the period of mourning, the better for both the living and the dead. Unnatural death is a "bad thing". The "numen" is dangerous and must be removed quickly. Executed criminals and victims of death through "swelling" diseases for instance are buried in the night and those connected with

the burial have to purify themselves thoroughly usually by inhaling the fumes of a special herb for a few minutes. Other bad deaths, as drowning, childbirth, and crashes for instance, have some sort of mortuary rites performed. The corpse is prepared for burial in a palm-branch-fenced enclosure outside the house. Only very close relatives may see it. The burial is all the same hurried. On the day after the "second" vigil (12) the improvised enclosure is slashed with a cutlass, a shot fired into it and fire set to it amidst the shouts of those assembled. This is intended to frighten away the deceased should he be tempted to plague the living with ghostly appearances. It has an added aim of demonstrating to any evil powers who may have brought about such tragic deaths that the living are not done any harm by such losses. Otherwise, it is believed, similar deaths may continue to recur in the family. Ceremonial cooking may be extended to the "bad" death people when it is specially done for the "good" death people.

Children are disposed of hurriedly when they die. Parents must not mourn else it may prevent their children from coming back into the material world (13).

The whole life of the Aqla traditional believer from the cradle to the grave and even beyond the grave is constantly lived in the performance of personal religious rites. Some of these rites seek to establish a union with the holy when the union is considered helpful. Others are an outright attempt

to keep the holy at a distance when its presence is thought dangerous to the Angloman's well-being.

NOTES: Chapter VII

1. Manoukian, M. : op.cit. 1952 P.42 ff.
2. For reincarnation refer next chapter.
3. There is some amount of laxity here today for all people invited to the ceremony may offer this gift, and indeed, participate fully in the ceremony - except to officiate - regardless of their not being twins or parents of twins.
4. Circumcision, as puberty initiation, is recorded by Camara Laye in his novel "The ~~Dark~~ Child" (trans) London 1955. The Angl people do not appear to have any puberty rites at all.
5. App. C. "Angl State Council Schedule to Resolution dated 23rd day of June 1961" (5).
6. This appears the usual site given to or chosen by missionaries. See also Chinua Achebe : Things Fall Apart. (London 1958)
7. Fiawoo D.K. (op.cit.) mentions this ceremony as an Angl practice. The present investigations have nothing to support this. "Ritual carried out with the corpse" mentioned by Manoukian, op.cit. 1952, p.43, is probably

the same ceremony. A work such as Manoukian's on the Eve-Speaking People may contain generalizations which may not include some particular groups which make up a larger cultural unit.

8. In general petitionary prayers, the Earth is sometimes invoked - as the wife of Heaven. Heaven here cannot be the same as the Supreme Being for Mawu, the Supreme Being, is also invoked apart from "Heaven and your spouse, Earth" App. B. No.81.
9. Refer major stool festival in Chap. IV. above.
10. App. A. or B. No.93-96.
11. Refer Chap. IV. above.
12. "Second" vigil, "Du evelia", is the vigil kept on the fourth or seventh night after the day of burial in Angloland. The "first" vigil is kept over the corpse before burial.
13. But twins who die at birth or early in childhood receive some cultic attention. Wooden images in human form represent them. They may be seen carried on the person of their mothers or their surviving partners, or deposited in a "shrine" in their mothers' bedrooms. Anything done to surviving partner twins is done to the images, the dead partners, too - All to placate the departed so as to get themselves reborn soon, or not to "lead away" their surviving partners nor give rise to any other dangerous manifestations of spirit in human affairs.

C H A P T E R VIII

THE CONCEPTION OF THE SOUL AND REINCARNATION:

The Soul.

The conception of the soul among the Aqlɔ people is no less complex than among other West African neighbours.(1) At birth a number of psychic elements, the Aqlɔ people believe, come together to form one complex entity, that is, the entire animating principle in a person's material body. For this complex entity, the Aqlɔ people have no name as such in its own right but is referred to periphrastically as "amea ɣuto" "the real person", "the person himself" or "ame(nu) si le ame me abe ya ene" "the person or thing that dwells in a man like the wind or air". But whenever the complex entity is named, it derives these names, by metonymy, from names specially used for the two major component parts - the life soul and the death soul following Spieth's terminology (2). The third name is the Aqlɔ for shadow. These three words are respectively "gbogbo" spirit, "luvo" soul, and "vovoli", shadow. Other soul elements are believed to be joined in this complex entity. The first, the father soul, is part of the father's personality soul which the Aqlɔ people believe the father passes on to each of his children while the next, the mother soul, is the maternal counterpart of the father soul. It is the presence of these two soul elements in a person that makes for resemblances - so the Aqlɔ people believe - between a child

and his parents. Finally, there is also present in the complex entity part of the personality soul of an ancestor or any dead relative when it is established by diviners that either an ancestor or a dead relative has reincarnated in a person. However, the father, mother and ancestral souls are inextricably joined with a person's own personality soul; so that only two major psychic elements are discernable in a person's psychic life. For convenience and analytical reasons, the animating principle in a person's material body, "the man himself", *amea nuto*", will henceforth be referred to as the complex soul.

"Gbogbo" is the *Aqlo* name for the life soul. In its wider usage, "gbogbo" may mean breath, spirit, even flatulence in fact anything that has the nature of air or wind. "gbogbo yae, ya gbogboe", "breath or spirit is wind or air and air or wind is breath or spirit". As applied to flatulence, "gbogbo" is an euphemism and has no special connection with breath as the life-force among the *Aqlo* people. Nor has it any connection with the suggestion of some psychoanalysts, for instance Dr. E. Jones "that the idea of the soul may have arisen not merely from breath, but from flatulence" (3). The contempt with which a person who lets out flatulence in public is treated - especially at meals - cannot so easily justify such a noble estimation of flatulence among the *Aqlo* people.

"Gbogbo", as the life soul, has a direct origin from

the Supreme Being, and is regarded as the little bit of the Supreme Being that dwells in every person. Coming, therefore, from the Supreme Being, the life soul shares in the divine attributes of justness and goodness. In functional differentiation, it is the same as "dzitsinya" "the heart that gives good advice or forewarns" simply conscience, "Se" "Kla" "Dzɔgbese" Destiny, and "Aklama" guardian genius. So that though from one and the same source, the Supreme Being, and performing the same functions in all, the life soul becomes individualized in various people with varying personality souls, and this greatly affects the life soul. However, in essence, it never loses its identity in the complex soul but remains as much as possible, "wholly other", fighting against the lower psychic elements in defence of the good and beneficial to man as conscience, "dzitsinya", in waking life, and as "aklama" guardian genius in sleep. Just before death completely takes place the life/^{soul} is believed to return to the Supreme Being. Some think it goes to give an account of man's earthly life and others that it goes to testify against the personality or death soul when the latter is tempted to conceal any truths from the Supreme Being. These two views do not appear to be mutually exclusive but complementary in the sense that the former is the more summary statement of the latter which explains more adequately how the life soul gives account of a person's earthly existence.

The same life soul is believed to be sent back into the material world but may not be attached again to the same personality soul of a previous earthly existence especially where the personality soul is condemned by the Supreme Being in his capacity as the final Judge of all man's actions. Rather it is attached to a different personality soul for another earthly existence. But where the Supreme Being judges the personality soul righteous, the same life soul may later, but not immediately, be joined with the same personality soul of a previous earthly existence to form a complex soul. This may happen after the life soul in question has had at least one other earthly existence with another personality soul. For example, it is the belief of some that few of those who, through divination are revealed as having no ancestors reincarnated in them, have their complex souls each made up of the same life soul and the same personality soul of a previous earthly existence and that the previous existence may not necessarily have been in the same clan or tribe. However no example could be cited of either the living or the dead. This occurrence is so very rare that the belief seems to exist more in theory than in practice.

The life soul is immortal in the sense that it cannot be destroyed even in part by reason of its nature as part of the Immortal Supreme Being. This is the main sense in which the life soul has connection with witchcraft and some forms of

magical activities. Separated from the personality soul in sleep when the personality soul goes out on its nocturnal activities in dreams, the life soul is believed, in its capacity as guardian genius, to be rendered somewhat "powerless" and can, then, be detained in bondage by an evil witch spirit. By a timely return of his personality soul, the life soul as guardian genius, is strengthened and may be freed when the owner wakes up otherwise he dies. This is the same principle that works in "leameqeqime" "to detain a person in a swoon" (4). Then in Azā, a magical charm, (5) a person's complex soul is believed to be summoned by a sorcerer. When the owner has a weak personality soul the magical activities of the sorcerer may force the complex soul to disintegrate. This is felt in the material body when death occurs. So that in this case also, as in witchcraft activities, the life soul suffers by reason of its connection with the personality soul.

The life soul is also known as "luuṣ", a term that is specially reserved for the personality soul to which the former is by far superior because of its source. Perhaps this interchange of names may be due to the fact that the two - the life soul and the personality soul - are both of the nature of wind or air. Or more especially by way of the complex soul, also known as "luuṣ", whose component parts are both the life soul and the personality soul.

The life soul, as the real animating principle in the

complex soul, never leaves the physical body even temporarily as does the personality soul in dreams. When it does, then death ensues. So that witchcraft and magical activities, for example, affect the life soul by reason of its association with the personality soul which is believed to be directly acted upon by witches and sorcerers. Finally "gbogbo", as life soul, is the same as the divine soul of Dr. Parrinder's research. (6)

The personality soul is specially referred to as "luvo" translated into English as soul while spirit is a more accurate rendering of "gbogbo", the life soul or the divine soul. The personality soul is also called "gbogbo" by the usual metonymy, explained earlier on, through its association with the real "gbogbo". Then also the personality soul is known as "vɔɔli", shadow, because the Anlo people believe shadow to have a special psychic relationship with the personality soul and the complex soul itself.

Before birth, the personality soul is believed by the Anlo people to have had a previous existence in a spirit world "Amedzɔfe" where life is almost the same as what obtains in "Kodzogbe", the material world. In the spirit world, a person has a mother, brothers and sisters spouse and children. A successful earthly life results when a person has the same relations and employment as he has had in his pre-earthly days in the spirit world. In short a person's earthly life must

'as far as possible be a complete reflection of his pre-earthly existence in the spirit world.

From the pre-earthly world, at birth the personality soul is led by relatives, friends and companions, "hawo", "kplameqoqoeawo", to the exit of the spirit world. The personality soul is then met and escorted by a male or a female dead relative as far as the entrance to the material world. The guides are of the same sex as the personality souls they escort. More often than not, a child may have an ancestor reincarnated in him. When it happens thus, the reincarnated ancestor is believed to be the guide who leads the personality soul to the entrance of the material world. The same ancestor may act as guide for a number of personality souls who may live in the material world at the same time. In this way the Aqla people seek to solve the riddle of the same ancestor reincarnating in a number of people living at one time together in the material world. The whole idea of reincarnation is examined in a greater detail later in this chapter.

At death when the complex soul disintegrates, the personality soul goes to the land of the dead - "tsiefe", "tsinyefe" where I live for ever, that is my real home. References to the pre-earthly and the post-earthly homes are so loosely made that the unwary may be tempted to think the two are the same. It seems that in Aqla thought, the two are quite different places. For example the spirit relatives

and friends who accompany personality souls halfway on their journey to the material world stop at a place where the ancestor guides take over the escort for the personality souls to the entrance of the material world. The presupposition here is that pre- and post-earthly homes are different places and that there appears to be no dealings between the two places. Nevertheless life in both worlds is believed to be very similar to that on earth here. After all in trying to describe the abstract and the spiritual man everywhere makes use of what he knows about the material world at his level of cultural development (7).

It is the personality soul that is capable of reincarnation and the same that receives attention in the cult of the dead. In necromancy, again it is the personality soul that is summoned. It is, therefore, because of these post-mortem activities that this soul element is referred to as death soul following J. Spieth. In dreams, visions and auditions it is the personality soul that is at work. So that it may be said that it is by reason of the union between the life soul and the personality soul that in earthly life the more ethereal and "impersonal" divine soul becomes temporarily "personalized" and functionally differentiated into fate or destiny and guardian genius.

The personality soul unlike the life soul can leave the material body at anytime in sleep but more especially at night

- the more normal time for sleep - to engage in psychic activities which are later remembered as dreams. At times the personality soul is supposed to struggle with the life soul in the latter's capacity as the guardian genius when the former wants to leave the material body in sleep for adventures which the guardian genius foresees as detrimental to the whole person. The Anlo people believe that traces of this psychic struggle are left on the material body in form of scratches especially on the face. Whenever the Anlo people say "dzogbe de fe mo ne," "his personality soul has scratched his face", it is this struggle that is meant. In this struggle, the physical body is thought to be the battlefield for the life soul, as guardian genius, and the personality soul. These scratches are also considered as the outcome of an attempt by the personality soul to help liberate the life soul from bondage to a witch personality soul which may detain the life soul after the personality soul has left the physical body in sleep - certainly against the warning of the life soul. It is interesting to note that children, especially babies, mainly have such scratches on their faces and bodies and this helps, in no small measure, to strengthen the belief that children are usually the victims of the evil deeds of witches. But the average Anlo man never, for a moment, considers as the most likely cause of these scratches, the unconscious neglect of infants' finger-nails and the very hard sponge they use

not to bathe but to scrub pathetically the tender bodies of these infants in an attempt, so they say, to remove "dzigbedi" "dirt from birth". Once he has scapegoats in witches and sorcerers whom he strongly believes as real and potent force to reckon with, he is satisfied and needs no further explanations.

A strong personality soul is believed to make for a strong life soul, while a weak life soul is a reflection of a correspondingly weak personality soul. For instance, both a witch and he who resists successfully the attack of witches are said to possess very strong personality souls; and those who succumb unwillingly to the practice of witchcraft or are victims of witches' activities are said to have weak personality souls. When, therefore, an Aqloman says casually "nye hã adzetce menye" "I am also a witch", especially in simple quarrels, or "efe ta sã guto", "he has a strong head", the references may be primarily to the possession of a strong personality soul which can resist successfully, without any magical aids, the attack of witches and other evil psychic forces. There is also an implicit reference to the ability of being a very successful practitioner of witchcraft or magic if he who makes the statement wants to.

"Luvu", the personality soul, then, as the principal agent in psychic activities is the part of the complex soul that comes under the direct purview of witchcraft. It is also

the psychic element that features prominently in the cult of the dead. One often hears the Aqlo people saying in connection with witchcraft "etsa luvo eta", "his personality soul has been taken away". This is a periphrastic euphemism to refer to a bewitched person; for the very mention of the name of witchcraft, like death, is believed to render a person open to witches' attacks. The symbolic representation of the personality soul in Aqloland is nail-parings and hair combings of the dead and are used mainly in the second burial rites. Finally, this soul element is called personality soul in this work because it is through this that people are individually recognized in psychic life - dreams and visions for instance. In short, it is this soul element that determines the personality of each individual person in Aqlo thought, whether in the material or the spirit world.

"Vovoli", shadow, is another name for the complex soul. This word is freely interchanged with "luvo" meaning personality soul, because in shadow, like the personality soul, the owner can be easily recognized. But "vovoli" is never applied to the life soul. Probably because as part of the complex soul, the life soul never loses its identity in the complex soul but remains always "wholly other" in substance and function. Also, after death, in isolation from a personality soul, the life soul cannot be recognized as having ever been joined to a particular personality soul. Further-

more the same life soul can be joined to many other personality souls in successive earthly existences. Or probably because shadow, as a representation with visible form, cannot be applied to the life soul, the real animating principle in the complex soul, by reason of the life soul's source, the Supreme Being, who, the Aqlɔ people intensely believe, cannot have any corporeal representation made of him.

The shadow is believed to leave the physical body at death just as the life and personality souls do. But it has "post-mortem" activities ascribed to it, not in its own right as visible shadow but insofar as it is related to the personality soul with which it has been so closely connected in earthly life. In fact one tends to feel that in Aqlɔ thought shadow is the visible form of the invisible personality soul. Therefore, the Aqlɔ people do not regard human shadow, in the main, as essentially resulting from an opaque object intercepting the rays of light. But as Dr. Parrinder remarked of the Bambara in his "West African Psychology", the Aqlɔ people consider shadow primarily as an "emanation from the body manifested by shadow in sunlight and by a reflection in water" (8). After all, are not sunlight and water, potent forces in themselves giving life and making crops increase in a way inexplicable to the unscientific mind? The following account is an apt illustration of the Aqlɔ conception of shadow as a psychic force akin to the personality soul.

The lizard is a common place reptile in Angloland. This reptile, science remarks, has the power of regenerating its tail when part of it is accidentally severed. But in growing, the new tail may come at a point other than the very tip of the severed tail, thereby making the whole tail forked at the end. This "adoglo asikevee", "the two tail lizard", because of this rare abnormality in Angloland, is believed to possess a very potent evil force and can lay ambush to unsuspecting passers-by, whose shadows it can strike with its forked tail - this lizard is not regarded as a witch familiar. This harms the personality soul of the victim and unless this is timely discovered and cured, the victim dies. Sores in the mouth and nostrils and the private parts are generally put down to the evil deeds of the "two tail lizard" and not - so the average Anglo traditional believer holds - to vitamin deficiency.

The shadow has a direct connection with witchcraft in the sense that a suspected witch may cast her shadow upon that of another person and by this means can either transfer her cumbersome witch spirit in part or whole, or cause a fatal harm to the victim. These two incidents connected with shadow "wvovli" may seem to, and, be rationalized by the tutored mind as material coincidence, "typical of the freedom with which barbarous man translates temporal conjunction into casual connexion" (9). Nevertheless, following their psychology and

philosophy of life, the Aqlɔ people regard these shadow incidents as a matter-of-fact affair and which are psychical in operation since, shadow, to these people, in essence, is intensely considered psychic.

In psychic life, therefore, the Aqlɔ people believe that every individual is a complex soul basically composed of two principal psychic elements. First the immortal divine or life soul, "gbɔgbɔ", which comes directly at birth from the Supreme Being and is the real animating principle. Then the personality or death soul, "lɔvɔ", which has already been living a life in the pre-earthly spirit world. To the Aqlɔ people, shadow "vɔvɔli" is the visible form of the personality soul in the material world.

Reincarnation

When the Aqlɔ people consult Afa diviners to determine the horoscope of a baby, usually the baby is spoken of as "ame ta le enu" meaning "he bears the head of someone else". This is a figure which means reincarnation in Aqlɔland. "Amedzɔdzɔ", literally "becoming another person" is the direct Aqlɔ reference to reincarnation. The ceremony of divination which reveals reincarnation is "megbekpɔkpɔ", looking behind a person - the attempt to discover the hidden things in a child's life. "Megbekpɔkpɔ" then is, strictly speaking, the overall attempt

to know the destiny of a person of which reincarnation may be just an item.

Afa diviners can only broadly refer to a child as a reincarnated ancestor. But to pin-point the particular ancestor is the work of priestesses in charge of shrines where mortals believe they can be helped to converse with the dwellers of the spirit world. The ancestor in question is summoned from the land of the dead (10). He gives directions as to how the rite of reincarnation should be performed. He names the one who should perform the principal rite and ends up by giving directions as to what the child, in whom he has reincarnated, must do to avoid any misfortunes he suffered when a mortal. The named officiant becomes, as it were, the "god-parent" of the child and the one who largely talks to the child about the virtues of the ancestor, for him to emulate.

In the morning of the set day, usually an auspicious day for visiting the lineage ancestral shrine, the child is brought to the lineage house of the ancestor believed to have reincarnated in the child. The lineage ritual specialist pours the usual libation to invoke the presence of the ancestors. A second libation is poured through the lineage great grandfather to the reincarnated ancestor, with prayers that he must be a light to light the path of the child "he has turned to be" throughout his earthly life. The principal rite is then performed usually by a paternal aunt already specified by the

reincarnated ancestor himself. This is the tying of three beads of reincarnation "amedzɔdzɔdzonu" - two blue and a black in the middle strung on raffia thread - around the right wrist of the child. This rite is intended to mark off the child as having gone through the ceremony of reincarnation to avert from his person any evil that befalls those who have neglected its performance. The name of the reincarnated ancestor is given the child as his "drink-name" "ahanɔkɔ". Reincarnated children are sometimes known so commonly by this name that their own names may be totally abandoned from everyday use.

Reincarnation in Angloland is partial (11). Apart from the same ancestor reincarnating in a number of people who live at one and the same time in the material world, the reincarnated ancestor is also regarded as living in the land of the dead and accordingly receives cultic attention from descendants. Then the reincarnated child is not aware at all of any previous existence in the material world. This may probably be expected since reincarnation is not full but partial.

In Anglɔ thought reincarnation is a good thing. For it is those who have led good lives in their mortal days that are believed to reincarnate. The suggestion is that it is they that have successfully withstood the tests of the final judgement in the court of the Supreme Being. Those condemned, mainly witches and sorcerers, do not reincarnate. Anglɔ rein-

carnation, then, is a reward for good earthly life - a blessing not "curses which for a time the soul must bear". (12).

But it is not all the good that reincarnate in Aqloland. It is only the good who have also died good deaths (13). The good who have died bad deaths in war or crashes for instance are believed to come back into the material world as some personal spirits regarded as deities, "ametsiuvumetrōwo". The mother of the reigning chief of Abo is a priestess of such a personal deity. Usually the priestess is officially known by the name of the departed. - In this case she is "grandfather Gaḍa". The personal deity of this same category, owned by a priestess in Aqlōgā, is believed to be the spirit of a very dutiful slave of her father, who got drowned in the lagoon while taking his master's farm products to the market.

If reincarnation is a good thing and much desired by the living, apart from giving sanction to the good life, it also suggests that matter is not essentially an evil thing in Aqlō thought (14). No wonder the Aqlō people do not seek escape from the material world but do all they can to ensure a prosperous and a long material life. It also provides an indirect assurance to descendants to expect abundant life from the ancestors. For it shows that all the necessary mortuary rites have been duly and diligently performed. The belief is that an ancestor may qualify for reincarnation but the inadequate and improper performance of mortuary rites may close the door

of reincarnation against him.

The tutored mind may rationalize the explicit faith the Anlo people place in the reality of reincarnation as a facile and unscientific method whereby the untortured mind accounts for the repetition of racial types in a lineage. But the Anlo people also have evidences they consider tangible enough in support of their estimation of reincarnation. For example Dr. G.K. Nukunya and a cousin of his were revealed in their infancy as the reincarnation of their maternal grandfather. This man was bald and Dr. Nukunya and his cousin are now almost bald exactly like their departed grandfather they are believed to reincarnate. Reincarnation in Anlo thought may be considered wholly a matter of chance if children are old enough for resemblances between them and their reincarnated ancestors to be discerned before the particular ancestors are determined. On the other hand a certain man from Anlogã while trading far away from home was supposed dead and children were born who "reincarnated" him. Suddenly he arrived back home one day! Reincarnation belief then is questioned. But the Anlo people will not attribute this anomaly to the unreality of reincarnation but to the inefficiency of the diviner who unearthed the fact. In a situation as this it may be hazardous to take sides and such comments had better be reserved.

NOTES : Chapter VIII

1. Parrinder, E.G. : op.cit. 1951
2. Spieth, J. : op.cit. 1911, p.229 cp. Manoukian, M. op.cit. 1952 P.49 and Parrinder, E.G. : op.cit. 1951 P.38
3. Quoted by Parrinder, E.G. : op.cit. 1951 P.26.
4. According to this experience a person is believed to dream and just about to wake up he discovers that he is unable to do so. He sees his physical body from an objective point, struggling to get up and finally succeeds. This incident is solidly put down in Aql̥ thought to the wicked deeds of witches.
5. For "azā" refer chap. V. above.
6. Parrinder, E.G. : op.cit. 1951 p.26.
7. For more on "Tsiēfe", refer chap. X below
8. Parrinder, E.G. : op.cit. 1951 p.24.
9. Galloway, G. : "The Philosophy of Religion" (Edinburgh 1914) P.104.
10. For necromancy see Divination in Chap.V above
For "megbekp̥kp̥" refer chap. VII above.
11. Because of the partial nature of reincarnation in Aql̥land the whole conception approximates more to the influence - guardianship more precisely - of an ancestor in the life of a surviving descendant. But the word "reincarnation" is retained in this work for this Aql̥ conception largely because the Aql̥ word that

is used for it, "amedzodzɔ", "becoming another person", connotes the idea of "reincarnation" more than "guardianship". To distinguish it from Indian reincarnation, this work qualifies the Aqlɔ conception as partial.

12. Zaehner, R.C. : At Sundry Times (Faber 1958)
P.23 on reincarnation in Hinduism and Buddhism.
13. For Aqlɔ conception of death refer Chap.VII above.
14. Refer Chap.X below for Aqlɔ conception of matter.

C H A P T E R I X

THE CONCEPTION OF SIN SACRIFICE AND PRAYER.

Sin

To the Aqlɔ traditional believer, sin is the breach of prohibitions imposed on him by his object of worship or the doing of anything that leads towards a dangerous manifestation of the holy in human affairs. Largely ritualistic as Aqlɔ traditional religion is, many of the divine prohibitions have to do with ceremony and ritual and may not appear to have any moral significance in their own right. Otherwise stated, there is not the highly developed sense of sin as in Christianity for instance. To the Aqlɔman sin is "nuvɔ", "a bad thing", because it hurls the anger of the holy upon man. In short, divine interdictions in Aqlɔ traditional religion are generally taboos.

In traditional circles the common Aqlɔ expression for "to sin" is "ɖu kɔ" literally, to eat the prohibited thing. Indeed many Aqlɔ divine prohibitions have to do with food and drink. This presupposes that divine prohibitions may have originated or may have had from the outset to do mainly with edible things. Nyigblā of Afife does not allow his worshippers to eat spotted animals and fish. The cult servants of So and Da must abstain from eating mud fish, lobsters, crab and a sea fish known in Aqlɔ as "lidzi". Afa warns his diviners to refrain from edible things from the palm tree and anyone who has his horoscope determined through Afa divination comes

under one of the many "kpoliwo" which have a number of food prohibitions to be observed. "Kla" worshippers should not, except sacramentally, eat white fowls neither should they share a boiled egg with anyone outside their cult circles. A pregnant woman should avoid eating the eggs of a turkey if she does not want her baby to be born blind.

Other divine prohibitions are concerned with behaviour in general. A believer should not commune with his object of worship especially at the shrine within twenty four hours after having sex if the "stain" is not ceremonially removed. No woman in her periods should enter the precincts of a shrine. Every traditional Anlo widow is aware that it is extremely dangerous for her well-being to have sex before the end of the ceremonial mourning for her deceased husband. Many deities, Aduḍu for instance, and the ancestors forbid indecency of the sex act - having sex except in a room and on a bed.

It is unlawful to throw harmful objects carelessly about in the dark without first giving a warning; for either the deities or the ancestors may be near to help and by so doing they may be offended. All deities abhor the sight of corpses. For that matter they are not allowed within the precincts of a shrine. Even a dying priest must not breathe his last at any spot that is sacred. So strong is the prohibition regarding corpses that priests at times may not be allowed to pay their last respects in person at the funeral of very close relatives.

Nyigblā hates the sight of blood and for this matter his sacrificial animal is immolated by strangulation. But it is dangerous if the animal utters any noise during the immolation rite. If a man desirous to marry a widow does not want his days on earth and those of his "widow" wife and children to be full of sickness, pain and suffering, then he must not forget to refund to the family of the deceased husband the money spent in performing "widow" rites for his wife-to-be.

Circumcision, much loved and widely practised almost as an obligation now, is a "bad thing" in Aqlō thought because its wound renders the circumcised susceptible to all kinds of wounds from sharp instruments "lānu", if this danger is not ritually removed. Twins in Aqlōland are regarded as a source of great luck and many people long to have them. But woe betide the parents and the twins themselves if the "numen" of the twin spirit is not removed from their persons. Above all, all deities and ancestors levy upon all traditional believers a strict abstention from the practice of witchcraft and sorcery, stealing and adultery. So also is the harbouring of evil thoughts about one's fellowman expressly forbidden. In fact so numerous are the Aqlō prohibitions governing the religious life that they may be multiplied indefinitely.

It is not at all easy for anyone who does not live by the same or similar faith as the Aqlō traditional believer, to appreciate the ethical significance of many of the prohibitions

which Aqlɔ traditional religion has gathered up into the fold of "sin". Of course he may not have any difficulty with prohibitions regarding stealing, adultery and the harbouring of evil thoughts about one's neighbour since these are largely considered almost everywhere as ethically unsound in themselves. Other Aqlɔ prohibitions like those regarding the throwing of harmful objects about he may classify as breach of decorum. But food prohibitions without health reasons and those dealing with circumcision and twins, to the outsider, are unthinkable and cannot even form part of the breach of any reasonable decorum let alone have any ethical significance in them. A great care, however, must be taken as to the measuring rod used here. Firstly, and surprisingly, it is for the very reason of promoting sound health that the Aqlɔ traditional believer observes certain food interdictions for should he fail in living up to the requirements of such divine prohibitions, the holy manifests itself dangerously in his affairs and this is visible in sickness which attacks him. Then too the Aqlɔman very well knows that it is the breach of decorum to throw, for instance, water carelessly about in the dark, for a fellow man may be around unnoticed. Additionally the Aqlɔ people are not unaware that stealing and adultery as well as witchcraft and sorcery are wrong in themselves because such acts take place in situations in which the doers are not morally justified. But the Aqlɔ people do not look for the ethical significance of

these prohibitions in themselves. Their ethical measuring rod consists rather in the consequences of the violation of the prohibitions. Because the failure to keep these prohibitions brings evil results, the things prohibited are "bad things", "nuv3wo", in Aql3 traditional society. The prohibitions form part of the people's religion because the evil which results from their violation is primarily spiritual - the manifestation of the holy in human affairs. So that the Aql3 people are perfectly right in their own world not only in having such prohibitions whose examples are given here but also are justified in making them divine prohibitions.

One often hears an Aql3man saying after the violation of an interdiction, "Many3 mew3a ame o." "Ignorance is a plea". Literally this expression means "One cannot suffer the evil consequences of the breach of an interdiction of which he is not in the know". This is an indirect reference to the Aql3 classification of the violation of an interdiction as either intentional or unintentional. The traditional believer either may be a polytheist or each of his objects of worship may have a long list of food taboos for instance. Some of these taboos may never have been brought to his notice. He may have been told about them but they may be too many for all to be always remembered especially at the time of a breach. So that the Aql3 people believe that an unpremeditated breach of a divine interdiction may pass without any divine retribution. But

another believer may not be unaware of a divine prohibition regarding a step he is about to take and additionally may very well know that, in acting premeditatedly, he is otherwise putting the power of the holy to a derogatory test. As an instance, the Anlo people strongly believe that nothing can stay the evil consequences when a sorcerer or a witch joins in either the bloodmeal or the special guinea corn beer in which they are divinely forbidden to share during the annual festivals of the ancestors and the deities. For to share such communal meals with the holy demands a thorough self-examination and even at the point of inviting worshippers to partake the ritual specialist may sound a final reminder as to the penalty inflicted on the guilty who may partake. In passing, one cannot fail to see a parallel between this Anlo practice and the Christian Holy Communion.

Many deities, So of the Yeve secret society and Nyigblã of Afife for instance, are known to permit the violation of some food taboos if their cult servants are placed in a situation in which these prohibited foods are the only means of livelihood. Among the Anlo people the violation of an interdiction, then, apart from being either intentional or unintentional is almost considered directly proportional to the evil consequences that may follow depending upon the circumstances surrounding the violation. In other words, in Anlo thought, divine retribution does not mechanically and

indiscriminately follow the breach of an interdiction.

On the other hand during the fieldwork many Afa diviners who were forbidden by Afa to take anything edible from the palm tree freely took gin distilled from palm wine, without any sense of guilt by first saying "Afa Degu! ekpɔɛa mekpɔɛo" "Afa Degu! please be blind to anything that you see now". And "palm wine" gin was not the only alcoholic drink strictly available at the time. It is also not uncommon for dear ones to mention the prohibited pre-cult day personal names of their partners. All that need be done by the cult servant is to say "Yeve nesee wɔaku tɔ" "May the deity be deaf to what is said". It is, however, interesting to note that a female cult servant of Aduɔ was believed punished by the deity though she could, in all frankness, not remember any breach of the deity's prohibitions. This woman rushed her sick son before the deity and though the priest treated him with the usual efficacious cult palm oil, the child showed no signs of recovery but of aggravation. Divination later revealed that the woman had broken the deity's taboo, attributed the sickness of the child to his mother's wrong done against the deity and finally demanded a recompense on behalf of the deity before the child could be well again. After the woman had gone through the purificatory rites, the child started to show signs of improvement and recovered finally though the same treatment was administered, at least so the priest affirmed, before and after

his mother's purificatory rites. Should it be taken to mean that cures come slowly and that both the treatment before and after the purificatory rites all contributed substantially towards the cure? Once the recovery of the child became noticeable after his mother had submitted to the rites of purification, to the average Angloman, this is a sure sign that the woman has "sinned" - at any rate unawares and logically she should not have come under divine vengeance once ignorance is regarded as a plea.

Moreover it is commonplace in Angloland to find people who have violated divine interdiction in permissible situations submitting later to rites of purification. To these it is a policy of "better be sure than be sorry later". So that the question of intentional and unintentional breach of divine prohibitions and the consequences that follow in each case, far from being a settled one, is somewhat confused in Anglo religion. The sceptic may therefore doubt the validity of these prohibitions no less the reality of the Angloman's objects of religious devotion believed to be the source of these interdictions. But the Anglo people themselves are never in any serious predicament like the critical inquirer. In the case of many of them such irregularities may pass unnoticed and some who notice them may consider them not worthy enough of any serious attention. But those who wish to grapple with any such discrepancies feel they can do no more than poignantly

voicing out a humble confession of their ignorance - human ignorance - as against the omniscience of the holy; "perhaps there are many more taboos we are not aware of. Probably too some of the taboos we consider foolishly trivial may, in point of fact, be major ones for the holy".

The breach of an interdiction in Anglo thought brings a change in man's spiritual state. The deity withdraws his protective presence and the "spiritual vacuum" thus created, is filled by evil and dangerous spirit powers. The curse brought about by wrong doing plagues the physical body - the vehicle of the spiritual - with sickness and any other kinds of misfortunes whose sole aim is to destroy life. The desecration may extend beyond the person of the wrong doer to affect other innocent people. A woman who commits adultery is believed to suffer bitter pains at childbirth. The baby may also die. In the breach of an interdiction which demands "fiasidexere" "dedicating a maiden to the service of a deity as an expiation", the person of the offender is believed not touched at all by the evil consequences of his action. It is rather his relatives at times very distant ones who pay the price.~ In this last instance the sceptics suspect underground activities by secret agents of a cult.

In Anglo traditional life the usual cure for sickness does not go without a treatment for spiritual wholesomeness. This may make the unwary conclude that all sickness, indeed pain and

suffering, in Angloland is taken to be the outcome of sin. But it will be too hasty, in fact lopsided, to draw this conclusion. For firstly the Anglo people believe that some sicknesses and misfortunes are due to the wicked deeds of witches and sorcerers. Then too they may form part of man's destiny believed to be predetermined by the Supreme Being. Moreover, since the Anglo people regard some deaths as natural, it is quite sensible to think as natural too any sickness or misfortune that brings about a natural end to man's material existence. So that spiritual treatment does not seem justified where no known breach of an interdiction is pin-pointed. The sickness may equally be a "natural one". But spiritual treatment in such a situation is more of a precautionary measure - in case the sickness is due to an unintentional violation of a prohibition that is rather serious in the eyes of the holy, then the cure has been sufficiently provided for. Then the Anglo people intensely believe that every sickness or misfortune is the result of the dangerous manifestation of the holy in the affairs of men and this danger must be removed from the person of sufferers before cure is complete. To put it tersely in Anglo thought everything that tends to destroy life is the manifestation of an evil spirit power while every sickness or misfortune is not an inevitable corollary to a breach of divine interdiction by either the sufferer or those who may suffer innocently with him.

Part of the therapeutic treatment to remove the "stain" that results from the breach of divine interdictions is purely medicinal. Herbal mixtures may be given patients to drink and rub on the affected parts. Black powder "vaccination" too may be administered, as in "sorcery" cure for instance. Since sickness is the action of spirit therapeutic treatment is also sacramental. The patient is given a ritual bath to wash away the dangerous spirit powers. It is interesting to note the account given by native doctors as to how they come by herbs that they use to cure particular sicknesses. They are possessed and directed by spirit powers to pick the appropriate herbs at random. As soon as the cure is complete they cannot well remember the method of cure. This is why, so they affirm, they can only describe general cures for a large number of diseases but cannot particularize for each of them. Particularization is the work of the spirit powers themselves. Perhaps this is a clever way of keeping the practice secret for it is also the means of livelihood for many native doctors.

Without sacrifice the evil consequences of "sin" are not considered completely removed. There are usually two sacrifices. One opens the cure and it is substitutionary in character and propitiatory in purpose in that it is intended as an exchange for the life of the patient, to appease the anger of the holy and to remove the "stain" from the person of the patient. The closing sacrifice serves two purposes. Firstly it is again purificatory; for by means of all the spiritual cures,

administered so far the person concerned is believed to have reached a degree of "holiness of purity" that may be dangerous to others and the sacrifice lowers him from that height.

Secondly it is a thank offering to the patient's object of worship for permitting the cure and reinstating his divine presence once more; and when the healed person joins with his fellows in a communal meal prepared from the sacrifice, he is visibly assured of his readmission into the society of the faithful and of the re-establishment of a mystical bond once more with his deity. These sacrifices largely belong to the "nuxe" type in Aqla traditional religion and are more fully discussed later in this chapter.

Finally "Ko" in Aqla is either taboo or totem and "duka" may be the breach of either a totemic or a taboo prohibition. In short all the examples of divine interdictions listed above are either totems or taboos.

Taboos are marked off from ordinary usage because they are "hateful" to the Aqla traditional believer's object of worship. As "untouchables" for the holy, they must have nothing to do with those dedicated to the service of the holy. This is why Da and So worshippers do not eat pork, all Aqla priests avoid corpses and women in their period should not dare commune formally with the holy.

Totems, on the other hand, are marked off because they are sacred - pure. Sacred as they are to the holy, they demand

reverence from worshippers also. Worshippers of Nyigblā of Afife do not kill nor eat^a/spotted animal or fish because their deity - the symbolic representation - is spotted and a spotted animal may be his metamorphosis. The snake, "anyogbo" is not killed by Da cult servants because it is regarded as the incarnation of their deity. Should they see any such snake dead they bury it with full cult honours. So and Da worshippers do not eat a fish called "lidzi" in Anlo because it is regarded as a fellow cult servant - a piece of bone found in the head of this fish is taken by cult servants to be the parallel of an important cult decoration "se" worn on the forehead of worshippers when they are fully dressed for cult activities.

But the Adzovia clan in Anlo land do not eat a fish which goes by the same clan name. It is not at all clear if such a totemic respect originated because the fish is regarded as the great ancestor of this clan or that the great human ancestor of the clan entered a blood pact with this fish. There is no myth towards this end either. Even the origin which may suggest a mythical descent from this fish is a little confused. Some take the clan name to be "Adzo fe vi" "the descendant of Adzo". But Adzo is not the same as "adzovia". Adzo is also taken to be the great human ancestor - to this view many subscribe. It is not then easy to trace this totemic origin. In any case, it may be cited as an example of totemic practice in Anlo traditional religion, of people who are bound by

blood relation to each other - as against another strand whose tie is cultic initiation.

Anglo totemic practice does not demand that the totems be ceremonially killed and partaken of communally with the purpose of either increasing their supply or achieving a mystical union with them in their capacity as the holy. So that totemism exists in Angloland if only this is not taken to mean exactly as it obtains in its original home among the American Indians or exactly as it functions in representative totemic cults in North America and Australia; but as a convenient term for the practice by a group of people who, because of either blood or cultic affiliations, reverence, say, an animal or a fish.

Sacrifice.

The Anglo people sacrifice on many occasions : when a barren woman desires a child, when a man wants to win the love of an obstinate maiden, before starting a new venture, to rectify an unhappy destiny or ensure a good one, when a man is sick, when a believer wants to show his gratitude to the holy, at the birth of twins, at funeral and mortuary ceremonies, during epidemics and when threatened or overcome with famine, and when human blood is accidentally shed.

A careful examination of this variety of occasions for sacrifice reveals that the Anglo people may offer sacrifice on

behalf of either individuals or social groups, and the sacrifice itself may be "dza" or "nuxe".

"Dza" sacrifices are primarily gifts to the holy. They may be votive, thank or meal offerings. Votive sacrifice, "dzadodo", is anything that a suppliant offers the holy to beg for certain favours in return for which he makes a vow to offer later something greater when his wishes are met. A thank offering, "dzatutu", features prominently when the worshipper comes with a gift before the holy, in appreciation of a requested favour supplied by or unexpectedly received from him. Any drink or meal offering to the holy is "dzanana" in Anlo land when this is not prompted by any special reasons for sacrifice but is aimed at the expression of man's kindly gesture towards the holy (1).

"Dza" sacrifices are largely offered in shrines. By reason of distance or ritual defilement a suppliant may do it by proxy through a fellow worshipper at the same shrine. This is why Kwaku Tuqoabo could send "dza" to his deity at Anlo 3gã and prayers said for him when he himself was over two hundred miles away at Kumasi. Tete Zonyira was at Tema in person but "presented" his gift to the ancestors during their festival at Anlo 3gã (2). "Dza", as votive offering, belongs to the day-to-day worship; but when it is intended as thank offering, it generally forms part of the annual festivals.

"Nuxe"(nuxexe) or "v3sa"(v3sasa) sacrifice becomes

necessary when the Aqlɔ people desire to remove the dangerous manifestation of the holy from their person. "Nuxe" is a combination of a noun, "nu", meaning "thing" and the verb "xe" which is either "pay" or "prevent" in English. So that "nuxe" in Aqlɔ is either "paying for a thing" - making a recompense - or preventing a thing from happening. Similarly in "vɔsa", "vɔ" is an Aqlɔ noun for "evil" and "sa", a verb, may mean "bind" or "pass by". So "vɔsa" is either the "binding of evil" or "the rendering of evil to pass a person by". "Vɔsã" and "nuxe", then, mean basically the something in Aqlɔ thought - to remove an overhanging or stop a threatening danger coming from the holy.

The Aqlɔ people believe that a sacrifice of propitiation, substitution, prevention and purification all remove the dangerous manifestation of the holy from human affairs, and accordingly do not have any separate names for these types of sacrifice. Each of them is "nuxe" or "vɔsã" in Aqlɔ (3). Indeed a "nuxe" sacrifice is either purificatory, or substitutionary for instance because of what exactly has prompted the sacrifice. "Hanuhanu" for Naki at Aqlɔga (4) was principally substitutionary because it was offered in exchange for Naki's life to her spiritual companions, "hawo", who wanted to claim her life by plaguing her with sickness and misfortunes. If Naki is believed spared as the result of "nuxe" sacrifice, undoubtedly, the spirit powers have been propitiated and Naki's

person spiritually and physically purified. So that to single out an Aqlɔ "nuxe" sacrifice in this work as this or that type, is alien to Aqlɔ practice itself and is intended here to work on the principle of what may be described as "primus inter pares" for the purpose of a better understanding of sacrifice in Aqlɔ thought.

Unlike "dza", "nuxe" sacrifice demands the supplicant to be present in person for the rites may involve the curing of a disease. Of course where the defilement is largely ritualistic and where sickness has not yet resulted, the supplicant himself does not need to be present. For a social group, the elders are enough representation. The members of the community may later wash their heads, faces, arms and feet with a herbal mixture to remove the danger of the holy.

A "nuxe" sacrifice usually takes place in the night - the time when the evil spirit powers are believed to come out from hiding. Naki's was around eight o'clock. Another one, aimed at freeing an unborn baby from the clutches of two spirit powers believed to be struggling for it, took place about midnight. Allowance is, however, made for emergencies. A sick child, apparently suffering from convulsion, was rushed to the shrine of the priestess Dzienyexe . at Avume - Aqlɔgã for "nuxe" sacrifice to be offered around ten o'clock in the morning. The holy chooses to receive "nuxe" sacrifices usually outside a dwelling house at crossroads more especially

at the outskirts of a village. Another favourite spot is near a Legba image, in Legba's capacity as the general protector of the community.

Every "nuxe" sacrifice demands that what is being offered should be used to wipe the person of the sacrificer (5) to transfer the danger to the sacrifice. When the sacrifice with which the sacrificer has identified himself is "destroyed" in the immolation rite it is the sacrificer that is "symbolically destroyed". Some may, therefore, imagine the holy in Aqlɔ thought to be by nature vindictive, always claiming his pound of flesh. But in the light of substitutions visible in things sacrificed, some others consider this attitude of the holy as strictness and not vindictiveness. Unanimity however, cannot be expected on this point.

The economic standing of a sacrificer may usually determine when he must offer a required sacrifice. At Afife during the 1964 festival of Nyigblā a "bought womb" man (6) came to offer "Kabɔɔ" sacrifice at the unusual age of 45 years because it was not easy for him to assemble the required things due to financial difficulties. But when Azāgada, through divination was asked to go with a votive offering to his tutelary deity at Aqlɔgā before he could prosper in life, he came posthaste from Winneba - a distance of over 150 miles (7). The urgency of a need, then, appears the main determining factor in the sacrificial approach to the holy in Aqlɔland. Indeed when

everything seems to go well with them, the Aql3 people even intentionally may forget the holy.

The Aql3 people normally offer direct sacrifice to the deities and the ancestors. But when the impersonal power is "personalized" and given moral quality it may also receive sacrifice in Aql3land (8). Sacrifice to the Supreme Being is indirect - through the deities and the ancestors. Of course the sacrifice is not primarily intended for the Supreme Being and whether the sacrificer is really aware that the Supreme Being partakes of what he has originally brought for the deities or the ancestors is hard to say. In any case, during the sacrificial drama, the deities and the ancestors are asked to take the gifts to the Supreme Being that they may come back as abundant life. (9).

All formal sacrifices in Aql3land must be offered by ritual specialists. By formal sacrifice is meant any offering to the holy, that is not the casual throwing about of bits and pieces without any proper concentration by the one performing the rite. The offering of sacrifice by a ritual specialist is considered to be so vital that worshippers of personal deities, like Se and Kla, call in Afa diviners who are the general custodian priests of these deities, to offer special sacrifices for them. Even a priest cannot offer sacrifices for himself in Aql3land.

In ancestral rites the ritual specialists for the

principal acts in the sacrificial drama are men. So also it is with the deities except where the spouse of the deity is a priestess.

The Anglo people offer many things as sacrifice - (10) food and drink, living and non-living - depending more upon the peculiar taste of the deity for every deity has its own taboos. Generally all spirit powers do not seem to have any objection against cold water at times mixed with corn or guinea corn flour. Then all, except Legba, may be offered alcohol. Legba may prefer palm oil to anything else but when he is to receive an animal gift, it must be male. Witches may choose to receive palm oil, corn, beans and groundnuts, or an animal of their own prescription from different people on different occasions or from the same person on one and the same occasion. During the annual festivals, many deities, Gbe, Avadatsi and Tami for instance, share with their worshippers a meal of guinea corn flour mixed with honey and beer from the same cereal. But deities, like Aqudu, may levy on cult servants an annual sacrificial gift similar to the demand made on cult members at their initiation ceremony (11). For the ancestors an annual sacrifice is incomplete without a ram.

The size of the sacrifice depends upon the occasion. At present a votive offering may be as small as one penny with about a desert spoonful of guinea corn flour. The usual half pint of gin, which has almost become compulsory now, many

priests confess, was originally optional. A thank offering follows the minimum prescribed by the spirit power. But he who wants to give more by reason of his social status or how he is pleased with a special favour received from the holy may exceed the stated limit. The holy is known in Aqloland to reject a gift which it feels does not match the social status of the sacrificer. On the whole any promise of a stated sacrificial gift by a supplicant is a reiteration, as a personal declaration of the "commandment" of the holy - hence a personal acceptance of responsibility for the consequences should the sacrifice be neglected.

Things offered during "nuxe" sacrifice are somehow stipulated but they are also dependent upon the circumstances attending the breach of the interdiction and the seriousness of the misfortune consequent upon the breach. Tomi may levy an uncastrated he-goat, four male fowls and two two-week old chicks as sacrifice of purification when her shrine is polluted by a corpse. But Nyigblā may demand a cow when his sacrificial goat utters any noise during immolation. The ancestors may demand double the stipulated thank offering should it be neglected.

In Aqlō traditional religion the sacrificial drama consists of three major acts - presentation invocation and immolation. Animal sacrifice is extensively drawn upon here just because it illustrates vividly the points this section wants to make.

The presentation in "Dugbedodo". This may be done by the sacrificer himself or his representative. He goes on his knees before the ritual specialist. With his hands on the sacrifice he mentions his name and states his reason for coming with the sacrifice. He then hands over the sacrifice to the ritual specialist.

Then follows the invocation (12). This is a ~~re~~presentation rite - indeed the real presentation because it is what is now said that the holy officially hears. On his knees as well with his hands on the sacrifice, the ritual specialist invokes the attention of the holy by his personal name and appellations. The sacrificer is then mentioned by name, his petitions laid bare before the holy and the holy's blessings asked upon the sacrificer. It is the richness and the dignity of the language used by the ritual specialist here that may most strike the inquirer who is familiar with the tongue. This second act is loosely referred to in Anlo as "gbedodoḡa" "aḡefofo" or "aḡegbedodo" which words are particularly used for prayer. After all, what is termed "invocation" here is nothing different from prayer!

The sacrificial drama culminates in the immolation. At times the immolation may not follow there and then, when the sacrificer brings the gift. One of the rams immolated at Abɔ during the major stool festival in 1963 was presented two years before the immolation. Any wandering animals in Anlo villages

with white, red or black pieces of cloth around their necks are fair examples of sacrificial animals awaiting immolation. They are regarded as sacred and any ill-treatment extended towards them results in a dangerous manifestation of the holy in the affairs of the offender. However, animals for "nuxe" sacrifice are immediately immolated because of the very nature of the situation which demands a prompt attention.

The actual immolation may not be anything long. A special ritual recital precedes it and an example of this is Appendix A or B. No.10. Silence is usually demanded from worshippers within about ten yards radius during this ceremony. With the saying of the last word which usually may be either "gongongon" or "sesie" meaning "very firmly", the life is forced out of the animal. At once the silence is broken by raising special yells, beating gongs and special drums as the occasion may demand. The ancestors, largely, and the deity, Legba, may prefer the immolation to be done by cutting the throat of the sacrificial animal with a knife. The number of times the throat is cut does not matter. (13). But Afa may at times require the immolation to be done with a special wooden instrument called "metolɔfi" in Anlo. Ritual rectitude demands that it must be thrust only once into the throat to effect the killing. Kla is one of the deities whose immolation ritual prescribes the wringing of a fowl's neck between the two big toes of any foot. Nyigblā desires no other method of

immolation save strangulation and when "Auleketi" is to receive the usual sacrificial cow it must be carried bound in a boat far out to sea and let down into the deep. Tami and Sui would like their annual sacrificial uncastrated he-goats let loose inside their sacred groves to wander about till they die on their own more from old age than from starvation since these goats wander to the nearby villages and the villagers delight to feed them as the discharge of a sacred duty believed to be abundantly rewarded by the holy.

One important point to note about Aqlō immolation rites. All animals, except cows, probably because of their huge size, must have all strings used to tie them cut off before immolation. The cutting is ceremonial. "I cut off all the strings that join you to death sickness and troubles" so says the immolator as he cuts off the strings. (14).

The sacrifice proper may be said to end with the immolation. In many cases it is when the blood is drained out of the animal and fully offered to the holy - except where the holy wishes part of the blood to form a sacrament of holy communion - that the sacrificial drama is heightened. In giving the blood to the holy the Aqlō people believe that they are giving the life. To them it is the life that the holy wants. If indeed it is the blood, per se, that the holy is believed to receive, there is no point in a sacrifice where a deity, like Nyigblā, detests blood and the immolation ritual does not

include the spilling of blood. It is life that the Aqla people desire from the holy by offering sacrifice; and they believe that if the life is given to the holy, it will be reciprocated in form of abundant life for them.

There are variations in the manner of the disposal of the carcass. It may be offered to the holy as a holocaust buried outside the village or left to rot.. The faster it decomposes or is devoured by wandering animals the better omen it presages. Sacrifice to witches is an example of Aqla holocaust. So also are the sacred goats of Tomi and Sui which die on their own.

At other times the holy receives a part and the worshippers make use of the rest of the sacrifice. Firstly, the holy's part must consist of a little bit of everything sacrificed - probably a pointer to the fact that in Aqla sacrifice everything basically belongs to the holy. Secondly there are some parts that are constantly offered - The head, lungs, liver, heart and parts of the entrails; the legs and wings. These parts are not offered the holy largely because they are less edible than the rest of the meat. It is because they are the seat of life and their symbolism vividly brings out the inner urge of the sacrificer.

The head has two main kinds of symbolism. In "nuxe" sacrifice it symbolizes the exchange of the life of the sacrificer (15). But in "dza" sacrifice it signifies that

prosperity is desired to crown all that the "sacrificer" may do - literally expressed in Aqlɔ as "to see the head" (16).

The entrails in general, considered in Aqlɔ thought as the seat of life, are offered to strengthen the idea of giving the whole life to the holy. To offer the legs and the wings shows how important is the Aqlɔman's constant prayer for "healthy legs and arms" in his life. When it is children that a sacrificer wants the teats of the animal may be offered that there may be many babies to be fed at the breast (17).

Symbolism in some other gifts depends on the need of the sacrificer and how efficient the ritual specialist is in varying symbols to suit current needs. When a suppliant brings a "dza" offering of soft drink, say, cream soda, the ritual specialist may choose to interpret this to mean that the suppliant wants his words and deeds to please others much as theirs too must be pleasing to him (18). In short concord and harmony to foster abundant life are here implied. Gin may be offered to excite the holy against evil doers; on other occasions, during festivals mainly, it may be for the personal enjoyment of the holy (19).

It is mainly in "dza" sacrifice that worshippers make use of things sacrificed. The meal is mainly communal and of two types - general and special. In animal sacrifice the general meal for all worshippers is without blood. In cereal sacrifice the general meal is guinea corn flour mixed with

honey or sugar and beer brewed from the same cereal. The special meals are a bloodmeal "agbozromle" and "ahav3e" or "atilefeha", specially brewed guinea corn beer. The name of the beer literally may mean "beer for the evil people". The general meals are largely for enjoyment and the special dishes are basically sacramental, shared by the morally upright to achieve a mystical union with the holy.

Some occasions demand that a sacrifice must be consumed wholly at the place of sacrifice. None is to be taken away except the doer wants to invite danger from the holy. Sacraments of holy communion are solidly in this category. In other cases it is only the ritual specialist that should take away a part - the chief diviner during the major stool festival at Abɔ was allowed by the holy, through Afa divination, to take away one live fowl. Worshippers also may go away with a sacrifice. The communal meal of "luwɔ" and "luha" taken on "godigbe" during the annual festival of the deities in Anlogā may be taken home to those who, because of ill-health, cannot be present at the shrine. The left-over part of the sacrifice may be buried as protective magic; the holy may also direct that it should be left sufficiently exposed to sight so that late and probably evil spirit powers may enjoy themselves (20).

The attitude of worshippers in general during sacrifice is one of mixture of emotions. In "dza" sacrifice even the sacrificer himself let alone general worshippers may pay little

attention or ignore the rites altogether. General topics for aside conversations may have nothing to do with the occasion. During the 1963-64 festivals the major topic was the hard economic conditions consequent upon a canal, so they explained, unscientifically cut in these days of immense technological advancement. Excessive alcohol consumed at this time punctuates the rites with simple brawls. But on occasions of serious sickness, epidemic and overhanging dangers even spectators may be seen sad and attentive helping to prompt a forgetful ritual specialist. So that sacrifice in Aqloland is not a matter of emotion. When a person feels differently on occasions which may demand great seriousness and solemnity the Aqlō people (21) consider a matter that must be relegated to the domain of good manners and not of religion. The important thing is that the essential acts in the drama of sacrifice must be meticulously performed and, of course, with the right intention, and this is rather a matter of disposition.

A final point about the nature of Aqlō sacrifice in general. "Dza" generally conceives sacrifice as a gift to nourish the holy. But "nuxe" seems to suggest that sacrifice is primarily a ransom for the sacrificer paid to appease the stirred anger of the holy. The two theories at present co-exist in Aqlō religion and, in practice, each is discernable in the other however small the degree on a particular occasion. So that Aqlō traditional religion, as it obtains at present,

has nothing to offer on the question of whether sacrifice was originally a gift or a ransom to the holy.

Prayer

Prayer and sacrifice are the two major means whereby the Anlo people seek to establish and maintain a healthy and a helpful communion with the holy.

Traditional religion of the Anlo people variously knows prayer as "gbedodoḡa", "aḡeḡofo" or "aḡegbedodo". The first word literally means "sending the voice to" and the last two "talking to a superior, usually a supernatural power, in a petitionary way". By means of prayer then the Anlo people strive to make their voices heard by the holy for the purpose of granting them their needs.

Prayers may be private or public in Anloḡand. Private prayers are largely directed towards the Supreme Being and the personal deities. Then a believer, beset by an unexpected misfortune, may pray to his tutelary deity or ancestors though he may be far away from their shrines. In such circumstances the suppliant himself is the "ritual specialist" and prayers thus offered are largely spontaneous and desperate appeals. Hence they are short and ejaculatory. At times a single word may be enough. "Mawu!" "God!" an Anloḡman may be heard appealing to the Supreme Being for help. A Tsiamе clan-man may

choose rather to shout "Tsali!" his tutelary deity's name as a spontaneous outburst of appeal for deliverance. In a similar predicament a 'slave' of Nyigblā of Afife may prefer to raise "ylikpe", his deity's special yell for help. In situations as these the Anlo people believe that ceremonial purity may be overlooked by the holy but never moral purity. Whenever such personal prayers fail to achieve the desired end, supplicants are often regarded as morally impure: "wofe dzime meko o" "their hearts are not pure".

Prayers to personal deities, though private, largely form part of a person's regular worship. They are, therefore, organized and demand ritual as well as moral purity from supplicants. Usually the supplicant prays personally and mostly for himself. A deviation from the strictly personal touch may include only very close relatives - children and grandchildren. Normally these personal deities are worshipped daily by the devout and since this may usually be in a person's bedroom, it will be difficult to say how faithful the Anlo people are in the service of their personal deities. The holy here is Se or Kla.

Legba as a personal guardian deity is not commonplace in Anlo land. It is only "bokowo", Afa diviners, who mainly own them and daily, early in the morning, a "boko" may be seen making oblations of palm oil to Legba. For the guardianship of Legba, the community attach themselves to the public Legba

shrines; and for their personal day-to-day prayers they rather choose to worship at the shrines of their tutelary deities or ancestors (22).

Private prayers offered during the annual festivals of the deities and the ancestors need special note. During the principal festival rites of bathing, clothing and feeding the holy, though the ritual specialist may continue to offer general prayers asking for "healthy legs and arms" for the community as a whole, an inspired believer is allowed to go down on his knees before the holy and present his needs personally - as did a "slave" of *Avadatsi* during the 1964 annual festival at *Anlogã* (23). When *Tomi* or *Sui* worshippers go on their annual pilgrimage to the sacred grove of their deity, the priest's function as an intermediary is temporarily suspended to allow worshippers to present personally to the deity the needs that they severally want supplied during the ensuing year. When *Nyigblã* of *Afife* leaves his shrine for his sacred grove it is never without the deafening shouts of personal prayers fervently offered by each believer. At *Afife*, for example, the large majority of the believers may be heard reciting many times "*Nedæ wo dzi, eve etõ! Amefialawo katã. Togbui ! agbe, ayi loo!*" "May all the wicked people in the community perish in large numbers. Grandfather ! long life and prosperity to us all (the good)".

The emphasis of personal prayers at a time as this does

not seem placed on the need for detailing one's requests but on the importance of everyone striving to make his voice personally heard by the holy. Once this is done the details can later be worked out in the shrines during the course of the year. So essential is this personal appeal considered to be that mothers may be found, at Afife, prompting their children learning to talk, to mumble a few words of prayer. If it is remembered that this special opportunity for personal communion with the holy knocks at the believer's door once a year only, the fervour of such a prayer cannot be over exaggerated.

Intensely communal as public worship may be in Aqloland, ample provision is also made for the individual to arrange prayers to be said solely for him. Indeed it is personal prayers which go to form the bulk of communal worship. Here the prayer must pass through the "mouthpiece of the holy", the priest for instance. All that the suppliant can do here is to state his intentions summarily before the priest enters the "holy of holies" to offer the prayer. Should the priest be tempted to forget a vital point, the suppliant is at liberty to prompt him. However, it is only what the priest says that the holy hears. As needs vary so do individual prayers. A cult servant of Aduqu may rush to his deity to ask for help to win the hand of a maiden in marriage (24). Azagada went on his knees before his tutelary deity at Aql3gã to ask for success in his career as a fisherman (25). But Kwamigã came with a

thankful heart before his ancestors because they delivered him from a trouble that nearly cost him his life (26).

Other prayers are intensely corporate in the sense that they are offered for the community as a whole (27). This is the keynote for general intercessory prayers which open the day-to-day public worship at the shrines. A deity, like L3afe Sui, may demand from his priest to offer such a prayer in strict privacy long before worshippers arrive. But the holy who speaks through priestess Logosi of Woe represents those spirit powers who prefer such general opening petitionary prayers to be offered when the community is represented in the person of the assembled worshippers. Prayers offered during the major festival rites to the deities and the ancestors are solidly the "community" type (28). It is worth noting that the behaviour of the worshippers does not detract anything from the corporate efficacy of the prayer. A ritually or morally impure priest or worshipper pays the price of his own disobedience.

Prayers during organized private or public worship are essentially ritualistic following a traditionally set down pattern. Faithfulness to tradition may be heard referred to in the prayer itself explicitly as "It is necessary that we offer the prayers which our forbears also offered in far off days" (29a); or implicitly in a proverb - "The pup.....says he chews bones where his grandfathers have also chewed theirs. (29).

The heart and centre of Anlo prayers is petition. Whatever may have specially occasioned a prayer, the petitionary note is never absent. The petitions are largely for deliverance from the misfortunes of this life and the substitution in their place of material blessings in abundance. A typical Anlo prayer may be divided into four main parts - the prelude, the invocation, presentation of requests to and asking of blessings from the holy, and finally the conclusion.

The prelude is the statement of the condition which qualifies an Anlo traditional believer for prayer and it is addressed to both the holy and the worshippers. It divides society into two groups on moral basis - the wicked and the good. The whole of the individual's life cycle is telescoped into a day - beginning with the rising of the sun and ending with its disappearance in the west. Worshippers are reminded that the morally evil are the children of the East (30) because their wicked deeds bring destruction upon them in the morning of their wicked plans and lives before they have time to harm the innocent and corrupt the morally good. The morally good are the children of the West (30) for their good deeds bring them material blessings which they continue to enjoy till the evening of their lives in ripe old age. Finally worshippers proclaim themselves as the children of the West.

The self identification of worshippers with the morally good, is not meant to be a Pharisaic religious attitude of

self justification. It is rather intended to be a personal declaration, before the holy, of the condition which qualifies a believer to pray efficaciously. In short, the suggestion in the prelude is that moral uprightness is an inevitable condition for the efficacy of prayer in Aqlɔ thought. Of course this does not mean that ritual purity is not necessary. For before the Aqlɔ traditional believer ever dreams of joining in formal prayers at all, he must already have meticulously observed the rules of ritual purity enjoined by the holy. But for moral uprightness with the reward of its observance and the punishment of its neglect in Aqlɔ thought to form almost a compulsory prelude to Aqlɔ prayer, places this demand at the very centre of Aqlɔ traditional religion making it a prerequisite to the true religious life. Since the Aqlɔ traditional believer wishes through prayer to commune with the holy, the explicit statement of moral qualification just before any attempt is made to invoke the divine presence, shows that the holy, as the goal of the Aqlɔ traditional believer's prayer, is also a moral being. Additionally, it also reveals that the Aqlɔ people also know in their own way that it is the pure in heart that shall truly see God.

In a state of ritual as well as moral purity, the believer is now qualified to invoke the divine presence. The holy may be mentioned by name not forgetting to prefix the honorific title of either grandfather or grandmother. The most important

part of the invocation is the agglomeration of appellations and praises some of which may be couched in proverbs of ordinary use. Hence "amlafofo" "singing or reciting praises" is the Aqló for invocation. The purpose of the invocation is to ask for a listening from the holy. The praises of the holy are recited here to remind the holy that it is all because worshippers are aware of its saving power and that it is in relying upon this that they have come forward with their petitions. To add to the exaltation of the holy a suppliant may confess the abysmal ignorance and the nothingness of humanity in the sight of the holy - "I am only an ignorant child" (31).

Some of the praise names used for the holy have lost their meaning and are therefore retained in the Aqló language in the English translation in Appendix B. (32). Because the Aqló people believe that these words also have an indispensable potency they are used, and they must be used, even if they are not understood. This mechanical use of words in religion appears when men everywhere allow the sphere of religion to be invaded by magical beliefs.

The list of the ancestors is always being added to and very distant ones may not be easily remembered by name. So when a ritual specialist opens an ancestral invocation with the mentioning of personal names and then finds he is unable to remember all by name, he must not forget to add a special cryptic apologetic expression to pacify those not remembered by name. Else their

displeasure is incurred to the detriment of the whole prayer. This expression is "nu mexlēa afi O" and may be taken to mean "I am sorry for not being able to remember each one of you by his personal name". (33).

The supplicant now in union with the holy states his reason for invoking the divine presence. It is vital to mention the supplicant by name because the Aqlɔ people also believe in the mystical connection between a name and the person of the bearer. The supplicant asks for protection from sickness and death, gift of longevity, children, prosperity in enterprises and victory over human and spirit enemies - to mention a few. Blessing is finally invoked upon the supplicant's well-wishers and of course care is usually taken not to exclude curses in the strongest possible terms on one's enemies.

The prayer may end with a conclusion. This is largely intended to tell the holy why the needs of a supplicant must be supplied. "If you do not do this, you shall for ever remain in dirt. You yourself have got to do it before you continue to be honoured." (34). "If you do it for him and us all O!

Grandmother.....(you yourself know that) a shrine should not be deserted - we shall continue to surround you with greater honours", "please help Kwabla by all means.....a deity and man do not bet and the deity becomes the loser".(35) In short, the conclusion appears a threat against or a challenge thrown at the holy. Probably the Aqlɔ themselves do not mean it to be

so but to be a way of vividly portraying the urgency of the need to the holy and to inform the holy that the granting of the petition is a sure testimony to its power which far towers above human strength.

Finally a response of "akufia" (36) said three times, may come from worshippers. The meaning of this word appears lost now but from the nature of the action which goes with it, it seems onomatopoeitic. Each time worshippers pronounce this word they raise both hands alternately over their shoulders as if bathing their whole bodies and this is usually in reply to a final statement from the ritual specialist - "here is abundant life and may we wash our bodies completely in it." In short, "akufia" is a unanimous "Amen" from worshippers in response to the pronouncement of the final blessings by the ritual specialist on behalf of the holy.

The division of Anglo prayers that appears in this work is mainly for analytical purposes. A look at Appendix B will show that all these divisions do not appear in all prayers, and even where all appear they may not be clear-cut. The prelude may be said once only to open a worship and may be omitted in subsequent prayers on that occasion. Then the response of "akufia" may be omitted altogether. - It is more used during the annual festivals. Lastly the invocation, and the presentation of requests to as well as the asking of blessings from the holy may be fused together.

Except for ejaculatory prayers all formal and organised prayers are accompanied by some form of sacrifice. It is believed

that the sacrifice represents the suppliant before the holy in whose presence the suppliant may not be allowed to appear in person. So that prayers, like "dza" sacrifice, may be offered conveniently for someone who may be miles away from the shrine(37).

A few points for general comment have arisen from the present chapter.

Firstly if it is only the morally good that the Aqla people believe can pray efficaciously then the asking for forgiveness may not be expected to form part of Aqla religion as a whole. It will however, be wrong to suppose, on this score, that the Aqla people are not aware of wrong doing in the light of the same prelude which divides society into good and bad people. That forgiveness should not - to be more precise - feature prominently in Aqla prayers is partly because of the end that prayer is largely intended to serve in Aqla religion, namely, as petition for evil, and pain and suffering to be removed and material prosperity and long life enthroned in the lives of worshippers. To the Aqla people only the morally good must hope for these things hence they alone can ask - pray - for them from their owner - the holy. And partly because in Aqla religion forgiveness can primarily be achieved by means of an act not recital; sacrifice not prayer. So that forgiveness there certainly is in Aqla thought but it is something that the worshipper himself must do rather than ask the holy to do for him. Once the appropriate sacrifice is most diligently offered, but not without confession to fellow

worshippers and the holy, forgiveness results. That witches and sorcerers must hand over their obnoxious and evil "medicine" shows that complete forgiveness comes if only there is a change of attitude - heart. In other words, Aqlɔ religion holds that it is man who works out his own salvation. There is no idea of divine grace of Christianity in this religion. Man's wrongs, as the Aqlɔ people understand them, may be very numerous but they can and must be fully paid for in sacrifice to have forgiveness. When forgiveness comes all wrongs done and their evil consequences are believed to be wiped away completely from the life of the believer. The sacrifice has paid the price in full. This is why forgiveness in Aqlɔ traditional religion is more a matter of sacrifice than of prayer.

Secondly, salvation, which in Aqlɔ thought then, should be by works, is also understood as deliverance:— deliverance primarily from material ills. But it is he who does not know the Aqlɔ people well that supposes salvation to be through and through a matter of material deliverance. If the Aqlɔ people constantly pray for material ills to go away from their person, it is simply because within them, they know that these ills are the visible manifestations of their spiritually polluted condition, and that when the ills are removed their spirit also becomes wholesome. If salvation in Aqlɔ thought does not apply to the soul as well, then the whole Aqlɔ conception of the Hereafter with its reward and punishment, does not make sense for

it is the soul alone that is called to answer for material existence. In short, the explanation of this view of salvation is that in Aqló thought matter is the vehicle for the spirit and what affects one cannot exclude the other from "suffering in sympathy".

Thirdly from the curses which Aqló prayers pronounce on the wicked people, it may be deduced that Aqló religion as yet does not know the principle of "love your enemies and do good to them that hate you". However, they also have good reasons for this attitude. To them it is not even a "tooth for a tooth" basically. Good treatment meted to the wicked is considered immoral and almost irreligious by the Aqló traditional believer. He who helps the wicked to continue to live is thought to be fostering the course of evil and for this matter he is not on the side of the holy. To the Aqló people, the truly religious must work with the holy for the complete extermination of evil from the world. And this cannot be possible if the wicked people are helped to live. "The wicked is like fire that must go out before the bean-ball (a meal prepared from beans) cools down" (38). In this expression which usually appears in prayers, the Aqló traditional believer pledges his full support for the holy on the side of good in word and deed.

Finally from the conclusion to a typical Aqló prayer it is discovered that what, for the lack of a more appropriate

word, is termed in this study as "threats", is not addressed to the ancestors alone (39). It is addressed to the deities as well in Anglo religion. If the presence of "threats" in ritual recitals addressed by descendants to their ancestors makes some scholars conclude that ancestral cults are nothing much different from reverence paid (40) to lineage elders here on earth, then it can safely be said that, with the exception of the Supreme Being, there is no worship but reverence in Anglo religion. But the deities are never regarded in Anglo religion as elders. Moreover, the deities are placed higher in the supernatural hierarchy than the ancestors for even a lineage may ask their ancestors to pray for them to the clan deity (41). So that the more probable thing is that in Anglo thought the ancestors are more worshipped as supernatural beings than revered as lineage heads beyond the grave. And when descendants ask them to pray for them the ancestors do so as patron saints making intercessions to the Holy on behalf of mortals.

NOTES: CHAPTER IX.

1. Votive "dza" e.g. App. A or B. 85.
 Thank "dza" e.g. App A or B. No. 26, 14, 15
 Meal " dza" e.g. App A or B. No. 20.
2. App. A or B. No. 20, 91.
3. "Nuxe" is more used in traditional circles and will henceforth be used.
4. App. A or B. No. 63, 79.
5. * * (1) App. A or B. No.69, 71.
 . (2). "Sacrificer" is adopted in this work to refer to the person on whose behalf a sacrifice is offered.
6. Refer chap. VIII above for "bought womb" and "Kaboba"
7. App. A or B. No. 85.
8. For sacrifice to magical charms refer chap.V. above.
9. App. A or B. No. 21, 50.
10. Refer Note H; chap.V above for human sacrifice in Anloland. Sorcerers are believed to kill children for magical purposes. When caught they are severely punished. The execution of one Gedegeta of Sr5gboe village in the middle forties is a living and fresh testimony to the illegality of human sacrifice in Anloland. Fishermen are also suspected of sacrificing children to ensure good catches of "afafa" of the mackerel family. Those who are believed to traffic in human beings for sacrifice ends are "Kevigatwo"; this word is enough to stop an Anlo child from being naughty.

11. App. A or B. No. 83.
12. "Invocation" in sacrifice is slightly different from the use of the same word in prayer.
13. cp. immolation during minor and major stool festivals in chap. IV.
14. App. A. or B. No. 71.
15. App. A or B. No. 77.
16. App. A. or B. No. 43.
17. Ibid.
18. App. A. or B. No. 18, 67.
19. Gin, against the wicked. App. A or B. No. 45.
Gin, for enjoyment. App. A or B. No. 48.
20. Cp. the disposal of the left over food in various sacrifices during the major stool festivals in chap IV.
21. In this respect the Anlo people much resemble the Nuer; Evans-Pritchard, E.E. Op. cit 1956, on sacrifice. especially.
22. Refer chap VI above for more on Legba worship.
23. App. A. or B. No. 56.
24. App. A. or B. No. 82.
25. App. A or B. No. 85.
26. App. A or B. No. 26.
27. App. A or B. No. 49, 81.
28. App. A or B. No. 30, 59.
29. App. A or B. No. 35.
- 29a. App. A or B. No. 30.
- . Cp. 29 and 29a above with the following extract from

a prayer just before the rite of immolation in a sacrificial drama. "On my knees as I am now, I pray that I may do everything today strictly according to the ancient custom of our forbears" - App. B. No.8

30. How "children of the East" and "children of the West" originated and what their exact meaning is in Anglo thought now, appear forgotten. In any case the two are symbolic expressions within the context of another symbolism which pictures a span of "natural Anglo life", from birth to death in ripe old age, as a day from sunrise to sunset. "Children of the East", as applied to the morally bad people in prayer, may be a petition to the holy to expose these people right at the beginning of their wicked plans - "May he(the wicked) reveal all his wicked plans". App. B. No. 35.

It may also be a reminder to supplicants, and this suits the context better, that the morally bad people perish and must perish young, in the morning, the east, of their lives. "The wicked is a fire that must go out before the bean-ball (the morally good) cools down." App. B. No. 38. As "Children of the West", the morally good are pictured as travelling and are prayed for to travel, like the sun, with an assurance of reaching the natural evening, the west, of their lives, in ripe old age. It is also not unlikely that the "west" reference

points to the good activities of the morally good to be always remembered by their survivors even though they themselves may die young. So that the symbolism appears to centre round either "actions" or "persons". The latter is more probable since almost all Anglo prayers are petitions to the holy for abundant life which must enable the morally good people to live to a ripe old age rather than that the good actions of the morally good should outlive them - without any special concern over the premature death of these people! "No one should die suddenly and prematurely" - App. B. No.38. Finally East and West are deities - App. B. No.81,94 - presupposing a Dualism here.

31. App. A or B No.81; Cp. No.48
32. e.g. App. A or B. No.87
33. e.g. App. A or B. No.36
34. App. A or B. No. 2 or 4
35. App. A or B. No. 50, 82
36. e.g. App. A or B. No. 62, 63, 87.
37. e.g. App. A or B. No.92
38. App. A or B. No.38
39. App. A or B. No. 2 or 4, 50.
40. e.g. J.H. Driberg in Smith, E.W. op.cit(1950) ed. P.26
41. App. A or B. No.91

C H A P T E R X.

THE CONCEPTION OF THE HEREAFTER.

The cult of the dead in Aqloland presupposes a belief in the continuation of life beyond the grave. How do the Aqló people conceive of this post-earthly existence of man?

Tsiefe is ^{the} Aqló name for the Hereafter. Literally it means "where I live forever" that is, my real home. Aqló references to "Amedzofe" the pre-earthly spirit home of man, on the one hand and the post-earthly on the other are loose and somewhat mixed up. But it appears there is a shade of difference between the two places. Suffice it here to say that both are believed to lie on the same border but the personality soul from the pre-earthly home has no need of crossing a river when it is earth-bound. But after its life on earth, the personality soul must of necessity be ferried across a river in order to get into the Hereafter (1).

Aqló thought also shares the universal consideration of death as the inevitable gateway to the Hereafter. In the much loved story about Tsali (2) the Aqló people in their own way continually remind themselves of this fact. As the story goes this man trusted in the superhuman powers attributed to him and consequently had the impudence of attempting to enter the Hereafter without passing through the portals of death. He got as far as the "river of death" but was believed to have been turned back to the material world with the expressed injunction to s

himself to death before he could qualify to live in the Hereafter.

Another way of putting the Aqló belief in death as the gateway to the Hereafter is that the individual does not need the physical body for his existence in the Hereafter. The Aqló people consider the physical body as a temporary measure for a temporary existence of the personality soul in the material world. Being part and parcel of this life, and at the dissolution of this life by death when, the Aqló people believe, the component parts of man return to where they have come from, the physical body must also be left behind completely on earth - its home. Without this, the Aqló people believe, the personality soul cannot be admitted into the company of those in the Hereafter. This is why those who die in accidents are regarded as taking a special delight in haunting as ghosts for they are believed not to have thoroughly divested themselves of their physical bodies. Those who will not haunt are believed to betake themselves to distant places in this material world. There they engage in all sorts of human activities, - they marry and have children. As soon as their identity is disclosed they miraculously disappear only to continue their existence in fresh regions. They continue in this way till their destined time to die when they die finally to return no more, except on the basis of reincarnation.

However, this does not necessarily suggest that Aqlō thought regards matter as essentially evil. Indeed this conclusion can only be drawn by the unwary who by-steps the Aqlō belief in reincarnation, which is considered a good thing much desired by every traditional believer in Aqlō religion. Of course the Aqlō people have never lost sight of their regard for material existence, and matter in general, as transitory and a shadowy reflection of their pre-and post-earthly spirit homes. Despite this belief the Aqlō philosophy of life is abundantly pre-occupied with this material life which, they affirm, man must enjoy to a very ripe old age. Whenever the Aqlōman wishes to commune with the holy in prayer, the keynote is always a petition for a long and prosperous material existence and any sacrifice that he offers has only the same aim as his prayer. On this score, it is rather unlikely for any Aqlō traditional believer to consider matter as essentially evil and his material body as a prison from which he must always continue to seek an escape or release. The Hereafter, he may consider his real home and to it he must, without choice, go one day. But since he is not very clear about the details of what obtains there, he feels there is no use hurrying there but to stay here and make the most of the life here not forgetting, however, that his steps in the material world, determine the next in the Hereafter. So that the Aqlō view which precludes the physical body from partaking in the Hereafter is not at all pessimistic of matter in general. In passing, if the Aqlō people had had a belief in

resurrection, at least they would have been saved from all the confusions of a belief in the "resurrection of the body" - for "what is understood by the resurrected body is far from clear" in Christianity and Islam both of which proclaim the resurrection of the body in the last days(3)."

To get into the Hereafter, the Aṅlo people believe that the personality soul must cross a river which is believed to separate the earthly from the post-earthly home. The name of this river does not appear known any more than the ferryman's name believed to be "Kutsiami". This Aṅlo word means "The Spokesman of Death" - a reference more to office than the person of the bearer. At any rate what matters more here is that there is a strong belief in the existence of a river and a ferryman to ferry across all the personality souls from earthly to their post-earthly home. The ferryman is believed to demand a fare. This is why the dead in Aṅloland are buried with whatever the medium of exchange is in current use - cowries or coins for instance. The boat of the ferryman is without apartments for instance on the basis of social status while on earth(4). Regardless of any distinction, all are ferried across provided the prescribed fare is paid.

Where the Hereafter is exactly situated in Aṅlo thought is rather nebulous. However, there is nothing in Aṅlo religion to suggest that the Hereafter is located in the sky - heaven. To the Aṅlo people this is an affront to the Supreme Being whose transcendental greatness is heavily stressed. Nor is there any belief which links the Hereafter with the Underworld though the

Anglo people bury their dead. To them the identification of the Hereafter with the Underworld is another way of saying that at least part of their physical body continues in the Hereafter and to this view they cannot subscribe. Let it be noted that it is largely because of this reason that this work does not use "Underworld" but "the land of the dead" as another English rendering for the Hereafter.

However, from Anglo references to the Hereafter, one thing is sure of its location. It is at a place very far from the present life. When the Anglo people go to necromancers to consult their departed relatives, the priestesses in charge claim to send "fiele", a spirit messenger to summon the particular dead persons. A considerable time elapses - at times a whole hour - before the spirit messenger brings in the dead. To explain this delay a priestess may be heard saying "The land of the dead is a very far place". But surprisingly the belief which interposes a considerable distance between this life and the Hereafter does not in any way question the Anglo belief in the ever abiding presence of the Ancestors, once it is remembered that the Anglo people also join, in their own way of course, the almost universal belief by which limitations of space are not binding on anyone who has undergone the initiation of death.

According to one view the land of the dead, considered very far from here, is suggested to be beyond Cotonou more especially Yorubaland. When this belief took shape, Yorubaland was indeed very far because difficulties of transport and communication

tended to make the world seem larger than it is. In Aqlɔ, the land beyond Cotonou as far as Yorubaland is called "Dɔlime" "The land of the dead". Cotonou, in fact, is taken to be situated on the bank of ^{the} Aqlɔ "Styx" - "Kutonɔ" in Aqlɔ, and Eve in general, means "the bank of the river of death". Since in Aqlɔ thought natural death is the home-call of mortals it may not be far from right to suppose that the Aqlɔ location of the land of the dead in regions beyond Cotonou may be an indirect reflection of Aqlɔ traditions of origin which claim a westward migration from Yorubaland. Though this deduction may not be improbable yet it is questioned by the belief of the Yoruba people and the Fon of Dahomey who locate their land of the dead beyond the Volta River somewhere in Adangmeland but their traditions of origin do not suggest an eastward migration from this place to their present homes (5). Of course an inconsistency in the traditions of two different peoples does not necessarily invalidate any of the traditions. However it is worth noting.

A second view is rather vague. It locates the Hereafter in the land of spirits, "gbagbo wo de", which, the Aqlɔ people say, is somewhere far away. From here, it is believed, the departed who choose to haunt satisfy their whim; those who wish to help their relatives or to reincarnate, make periodic inroads on the land of the living, "Kodzogbe".

The Hereafter in Aqlɔ thought is divided into colonies on racial, tribal, lineage or family basis. When the dead arrive there, they are met and escorted by their relatives to their

appropriate quarters. This is why it is absolutely necessary for the Anlo people to pour libations to inform the ancestors of a new arrival before burial. Each colony, Anlo thought further divides into two; one section belongs to those who die natural death and the other to those who die unnatural death. There appears to be no dealings between relatives from earth living in each of these two sections. For in the cult of the dead, the sections are separately attended to. "Those who take it in water" refers to the natural death people and "those who do not take it in water", is meant to include anyone who has died a bad death.

There is a deep rooted belief in Anloland that it devolves on the living to help the dead safely into their respective sections in the Hereafter. The acceptance and discharge of this obligation is revealed by all the elaborate and expensive mortuary rites that the Anlo people indulge in. Only two points need be emphasised here. Firstly, the living must see that the final resting place of the dead is with the fathers. In these days when burial is largely no more at home, there is a day, the fifth or eighth, after the day of burial, when the cemetery is visited to perform the ceremony of bringing the dead to the ancestral or lineage home. This also explains why the nail parings and hair combings of those who are buried away from home must be brought for a second burial at home. Secondly care should be taken to bury together the natural death people at one place and the unnatural death people also together. Woe betide the living if, by any mistake, a naturally dead person is laid to rest with the

unnatural group.

This union with the fathers, the Anlo people especially the aged, very much yearn for. Though Christianity also preaches the hope of meeting loved ones beyond the grave, the irony of the situation is that it is because of this very question of reunion in the Hereafter that some traditional believers reject Christianity. Christian Churches in Anlo land, apart from burying their members together — already enough evidence of causing separation between relatives in the Hereafter — do not only forbid the performance of traditional rites which the Anlo people believe may right the wrong of alienation; but they also constantly preach that Christians can never meet their traditional believer relatives in the Hereafter for all those who have not believed in God through the sole mediatorship of Jesus Christ are damned for ever! In a society like the Anlo where family ties are so strong one cannot expect any other reaction from the thoughtful traditional believers.

The Anlo people consider life in general in the Hereafter to be modelled on the earthly pattern. He who is either a fisherman or a farmer on earth must resume the same trade in the Hereafter. As an instance anyone who herds cattle has a cow slaughtered during his funeral and he is asked to take that to the Hereafter for rearing. Then too the spirit messenger who runs errands between the material and the spirit world during necromancy

may return after an undue delay only to report that the departed person is gone to the farm, to fish, or to sell his wares in the market(6) Above all, if the Aqlb people do not conceive the life in the Hereafter on an earthly pattern, there is no reason for burying the dead with personal effects which are originally fitted for earthly or similar life. Equally pointless is it for the Aqlb people who set aside personal effects they expressly require the living to bury with them when they are no more. Of course, this conception of the Hereafter is quite natural; for after all, the indescribable is often construed in describable and known terms the world over!

It appears that the Aqlb people hold that worship also continues in the Hereafter but it does not seem to be either the principal or the only pre-occupation of those there. A descendant may appeal to his ancestors to join him offer prayers to his object of worship. "In case I do not pray for him as fervently as I should, may all the senior ancestors join me in this"(7). According to this extract, the nature of worship in the beyond differs from here. Those over there are intercessors who worship that others in this earthly world may continue to have abundant life. In short, the purpose of worship in the Hereafter is not primarily for the personal well being of the dwellers there.

If some of the dwellers in the Hereafter are referred to by the Aqlb people as "senior", there is the implication that others are "junior" thereby postulating that temporal social status transcends death.

There is, however, a suggestion to show the basis on which such differences are made. This appears not so much a matter of age or the sequence of joining those in the beyond, as the moral quality of the life led here on earth - a life which may have helped descendants as a whole. To put it broadly and tersely a good material life, the Aqla people believe, is rewarded with a good and happy life in the Hereafter and a bad unhappy Hereafter is a reflection of a correspondingly bad earthly existence. In Aqla thought the Determiner of a person's fate in the Hereafter is the Supreme Being in his capacity as the Final Judge of all man's actions.

This Aqla consideration of the individual's material existence as determining the condition of his life in the Hereafter raises a problem. According to one Aqla belief, the personality soul, on the verge of coming from the pre-earthly spirit home into the earthly, is delivered a destiny believed to be predetermined by the Supreme Being. Every step whether good or bad taken by every person in the material world is considered to go strictly according to the terms of his own predetermined destiny. "XOVE" is a personal name and a common expression as the Aqla people attempt to disown responsibility for any actions of theirs. "XOVE" literally means "to get and bring", that is, what I have been given to bring along to the material world - apparently without choice. "SEMADO", is another personal name which means "One cannot alter his destiny". A popular line in an Aqla traditional song runs, "Dzogbe-Se do ame da ameto ameto". This means

"The Great Determiner of destinies has sent each individual into the material world with a destiny personal to him alone". So that in the face of a system of apparently cast-iron predestination, it is difficult to see where human responsibility comes into play let alone to have such an important bearing on the condition of life in the Hereafter. The Supreme Being, then, must be very unjust.

Nevertheless, human responsibility there certainly is in Aqlɔ thought. In addition to a predetermined destiny, the Supreme Being is also regarded by the Aqlɔ people as having given to each individual a little bit of himself to indwell him. This is "gbɔgbɔ", the life soul, in Aqlɔ thought. In functional differentiation the life soul is known as "dzitsinya" "the heart that forewarns" - conscience simply. Though a misfortune may form part of a person's destiny, the owner can easily avoid it by listening to the warning of Him who has predetermined the very misfortune that looms large. But a person with a good destiny can mar it by his own rash actions. The presence of the life soul as conscience in man, then, reduces the destinies that men severally have to the same base and within the same parallels in Aqlɔ thought. And this is where human will comes in to override the dictates of fate in Aqlɔ thought thereby making individuals fully responsible for their actions in "Kodzogbe", the material world, which actions determine the condition of the life in "Tsiefe", the Hereafter.

All the same, Anlo belief in a cast-iron predestination is as equally strong as that in human free will. This paradox is commonplace with the traditional believer. A glance at Appendix A or B. No.99-101 is too much evidence for this. The Anlo people are not at all troubled by the existence of such a paradox. The songs, just referred to, tend to blame man for his evil deeds and not his destiny. For to question or blame destiny in Anlo thought is tantamount to calling the wisdom of the Supreme Being to question. But for the Anlo man the Supreme Being must always be in the right when human wisdom clashes with his.

Anlo thought does not limit the judgement of man in the court of the Supreme Being to the end of man's earthly life. This judgement is considered constantly exercised throughout the material existence. When suspected witches and sorcerers are in agony, this is taken to be a conspicuous example of the exercise of judicial powers by the Supreme Being in the life of man. The final judgement, however, is reserved for the end of everyman's life on earth.

Opinion is, however, divided in Anlo thought as to the exact time of the final judgement. One view is that it takes place just before man breathes his last. This is why, so the supporters of this view explain, suspected witches and sorcerers "confess" openly their wrong doings on their death bed. A second view is that judgement does not end here; it is, as it were, a "semi-final" judgement. The final one comes after death has completely taken place and the life soul returns to its source, the Supreme

Being, to enter the witness box against the personality soul. Both views have not in any way rejected a belief in the final judgment. They rather strengthen it in support of the point being made here.

Aqlo thought is clear on only one reward for withstanding the tests of the final judgment. These people are believed to be granted permission to reincarnate. There is, however, a hitch here. It is not all the good who are believed to reincarnate but the good who have died natural death. The good who have died in accidents, come back as some personal deities known in Aqloland as "ametsivumetr3wo". Unless this is also a kind of reincarnation - over which Aqlo thought is silent - or that turning to be a personal deity of "ametsivumetr3" is a form of reward - on this the Aqlo people have no comments either - it may be assumed that the good who have died unnatural deaths, probably through no mistake of theirs, do not seem rewarded. Above all, if reincarnation is not the only reward for good earthly life then it may be right to imagine that the large majority of the dead who have not yet reincarnated might be enjoying a blissful life in the Hereafter. Other than this and considering the comparatively few people who have reincarnated so far then it is not wrong to suppose that many cannot stand the final judgment and few be they that are saved in Aqlo thought. In short, precision cannot be expected on a matter dealing with the Hereafter which itself is cloudy.

A final point. Every new individual born into this earthly

life, the Aqlō people believe, is partly made up of a personality soul from the pre-earthly home of man and at times part of the personality soul of a departed relative. When the material existence is brought to a close by death, the personality soul goes to the Hereafter and may come back to earth reincarnated as part of a fresh personality soul from the pre-earthly home. Those who happen to be condemned by the Supreme Being fall out from this cycle of going to and coming from the material world. Thus Aqlō thought does not seem to have any support for time as coming abruptly to an end one day. The Aqlō conception of time, then, may be spoken of as not linear but cyclic. It is like a great wheel turning and he that behaves as the Supreme Being enjoins, continues to partake fully as the wheel turns. But he that is condemned leaves the wheel for good. For where, only goodness knows precisely in Aqlō thought. This, however, is unlike the Hindu view according to which those who are thrown out of the turning wheel of time are rather the good ones. For they have completely purged their souls of desire and have achieved the blissful state of Nirvana, the ultimate goal of all existence.

In conclusion, the whole conception of the Hereafter in Aqlō thought, as may be expected, is not cut-and-dried. Where it is situated, the details of its life and the exact nature of its reward and punishment, for instance, appear to be conjectures with earthly patterns providing some guide. Nevertheless, of the existence of the Hereafter, the Aqlō traditional believer, is doubly sure and nothing can be clearer

in his thought or firmer in his life than the belief that what a man sows in "Kodzogbe" the same he shall reap in "Tsiefe".

NOTES. C H A P T E R X.

1. For the Aqlō conception of the soul refer chap.VIII above; also for more information on the relation between man's pre- and post-earthly spirit homes in Aqlō thought. The whole of that chapter is introductory to the present.
2. For "Tsali" refer chap.II and III above.
3. Zaehner, R.C. op cit. 1958 P.22
4. cp. James E.O: Prehistoric Religion (London 1957) P.137 - The Fijian view of this boat.
5. Parrinder E.G: op cit 1951.
6. The sceptics regard this as a camouflage for lack of sufficient information from secret agents so as to make necromancy revelations appear real. The consultant is given another day to appear when the priestess will have had enough time for "research".
7. App. A or B No.91

CHAPTER XIEPILOGUE

Negatively, the traditional religion of the Anlo people is not "fetishism" a literal worship of wood and stone in which all worshippers regard the symbols they revere as the holy and nothing more. Of course, as pointed out in an earlier chapter, "fetishism", as idolatry, cannot be completely absent from Anlo religion pregnant as this religion is with symbolism. Anywhere that symbols are freely used, the probability of "fetishism" in the lives of some believers cannot be completely ruled out. But it would be loose talk to refer to the entire religion of a people as idolatry because of an extensive use of symbolism primarily to help concentration unfamiliar as the people are with speculative reverence. Even in a religion of contemplation with much more emphasis on "spirituality", "fetishism" may crop up if worshippers consider the path of contemplative reverence as an end in itself and not as a means to the realization of a spiritual goal. There is no justification whatsoever for the student of Anlo traditional religion, who, thus far in his present study, regards the Anlo traditional believer as a heathen, who, in his ignorance, bows down to wood and stone. Indeed, this work is not aware of any African peoples whose religion is "fetishism". Rightly, therefore, has Dr. Parrinder (1), one living authority on West African religion especially the religion of some Ewe Groups argued against the application of this term in a limited sense to West

African religion of which Anlo religion is part - as if parallels could not be cited elsewhere even from the so-called "higher" religions.

Positively, and, in a summary form, Anlo traditional religion may be spoken of as the worship of a number of personal and impersonal spirit powers presided over by a personal Supreme Creator, a High God, in a hierarchical order. Anlo traditional religion is polytheism because the people worship many deities. But it is a peculiar sort of polytheism which needs qualification. For an examination of worship in Anlo religion shows that the various objects of worship are of unequal status and that the final goal of all acts of worship is the Supreme Being. Of course it is difficult to say if, during worship, formal and organised especially, the ordinary traditional believer is really aware of this implication though the officiating ritual specialists may make such a reference in prayer - imploring the lower object of worship to take both sacrifice and prayer to the Supreme Being that these may come back to them as abundant life(2). The failure of the worshipper to recognize a particular belief does not necessarily exclude this belief from a people's religion. In fact the lower spirit powers in Anlo religion appear to be worshipped by reason of a special relation they have with the Supreme Being. To the Anlo people, the Supreme Being is the Universal prototype of the paramount ruler of all Anlo land, who, in the olden days, was veiled from the sight of all and seen in

very serious cases only when local rulers could not afford any help. So that the deities and the ancestors, like the local rulers of Angloland, are worshipped because they are the representatives of the Supreme Being - the paramount ruler of the Universe. Without this "representative" relationship to the Supreme Being, no deity or ancestor could qualify for worship in Angloland. Therefore visibly polytheistic as Anglo traditional religion may be in practice, in essence, however, it aims at the concentration of worship on the Supreme Being through the deities and the ancestors. Perhaps this religion may be broadly described as being more of henotheism than polytheism.

Nor can Anglo religion be described as static. Religion forms part of a people's culture and culture is not something of a fixed form. The essence in its preservation, paradoxically lies in its willingness to submit to motion and change if this culture wants to meet the human situation of any given moment. Any culture withdrawn and hedged around wastes no time in finding its resting place in a museum. To put it otherwise, Anglo religion as an integral part of Anglo culture, must learn to adapt itself constantly to the contemporary scene as this scene is also acted upon by factors which effect changes in society if this religion wants to remain a living faith which people must always hold dear.

It is interesting to note that the Anglo people themselves are not unaware of the necessity for this constant weathering

of their patterns of life to suit the changing scenes. Long before they were to start participating in the great ferment that the African continent was to know through its contact with the more advanced nations of Europe, the Aqlɔ people, conservative though they might pride themselves to be, allowed their religion to be constantly acted upon by the traditional religions of allied peoples. Scattered throughout this work are evidences of elements in Aqlɔ traditional religion which the Aqlɔ people themselves attribute to the influence of the Yoruba, Fon, Akan and Ga-Adangme peoples. In other words, the factors of social change which came with the dawn of "Westernization" in Aqlɔland were only to accelerate what the Aqlɔ people were already much more unconsciously and probably imperceptively doing.

If Aqlɔ traditional religion, from a time as far as a reasonable knowledge of its history could go, has been under influences which continue to reshape it, how far then can the present study justify its claim to have been an investigation of an unadulterated Aqlɔ traditional religion? Can there ever exist such a thing at all? Further objections are raised by the Aqlɔ people being unlettered with the result that there is no written account to help unveil what may rightly be termed unadulterated. Above all, this work itself is obviously the record of Aqlɔ traditional religion at present as a living faith but as a victim of social change. Admittedly, under circumstances like these, no really unquestionable claim, if there is any at all, can be

laid to the knowledge of Anlo traditional religion in the past. So that "unadulterated", as used in this work, is a more convenient description of Anlo traditional religion as the adherents themselves believe it was in the days before its contact with the disintegrating factors of modern civilization from Europe. The unlettered past though distant is not all that far. For some there are who are eye witnesses to the real "traditional" days before the inception of modernization (3).

Factors of modern civilization are an upheaval that has turned Anlo traditional society upside down. Modern methods of transport and communication have reduced the dimensions of the world and there is easy intercourse between villages and the urbanized areas. Modern trade came as an inevitable corollary to the ease of travel. Introduction of new methods of production cannot help accelerating trade and commerce. Growth of towns within the Anlo community itself and other parts of Ghana and West Africa, has taken many people away from the restraints of home and tribal life. New ways of earning a living have brought a cash economy and more money even if prices rise. By means of travel and formal Education many Anlo people have gained closer acquaintance with nature, the mainstay of the old traditional religion. These factors and new political systems have had disturbing influences on the social order and morality. The paramount ruler of Anloland now participates fully in the day-to-day activities of his subjects; he sits around with rulers of nearby traditional areas to plan for common

development - incidentally the paramount ruler of Aqloland was the current chairman of Ghana's Volta Region House of Chiefs when the fieldwork of this study was done.

The Aqla people are no more content to own just the bare necessities of life. Comforts are freely indulged in and Western buildings, furniture, clothing and utensils for instance, formerly neglected as luxuries treacherously hostile to good progress, are now almost necessities. Defying the limitations of time and space, the radio now forms part of the everyday life of the Aqla people. Through it, better knowledge is gained of the outside world especially how others of allied background and upbringing are constantly adapting their ways of life in order to survive the stress and strain of modernization. In fact isolation is now a thing of the past and sheer ingrown conservatism, helpful as it has been to preserve much that may be regarded as unadulterated traditional life, is now relegated to the museum of outworn categories. People no more talk of the alienation of lineage lands as sacrilege and much of what in the past, was inalienable, has passed out of the hands of the hereditary owners. The depth to which these, and many other factors of social change have penetrated Aqla traditional life and how far these factors have been resisted by the Aqla society are copiously recorded in the closing pages of the anthropological studies that Drs. Fiawoo and Nukunya have made of some aspects of Aqla social life.

Undoubtedly, Aqlɔ traditional religion cannot choose to remain outside this wheel of change religiously based as the Aqlɔ society itself is. Indeed religious change itself is one of the great new factors. The rite of Talulu is unknown to the younger generation. For as Adzaxo, an elder of the Adzovia clan in Aqlɔga affirmed, the advent of medicines like penicillin aid such a quick and perfect healing of circumcision wounds as to render the rite redundant. Corpses are no longer disposed of wrapped in reed mats but in coffins and burial itself is no more at home but in public cemeteries outside the village or town. Perishable shrines of clay and thatch are being replaced by western type of building erected with cement and corrugated iron sheets. Imported materials from developed countries of the west form part of sacrificial offerings to the traditional holy. Ritual specialists may now wear western attire outside their officiating hours. Festivals are no more twice but once a year largely because the hard economic days cannot favour this. The absence of ritual specialists earning a living far away from home may cause a festival to be deferred for a year or two without the least fear of the evil consequences which were believed to attend such a neglect in the past. Furthermore, following a misunderstanding which was of religious significance for the Aqlɔ people but of political implication for the central government, the sacred grove of the Aqlɔ national deity at Aqlɔgā was cleared in January 1953 and the site now houses a police station. The festival was suspended for

about eight years. But soon after this lull, it was realized that worship must go on as long as the people lived. So during each festival season, an improvised shrine of thatch is erected near the police station, on the former site of the deity's sacred grove, in order to facilitate the performance of major festival rites. The people themselves strongly believe that this improvised worship achieves the same result as the "grove" worship used to do in the past if only the major rites are accompanied with the right intentions which marked the performance in the past. Ritual specialists themselves now freely give out facts of their religion to inquirers and they sit around with traditional rulers to pass resolutions abolishing or modifying certain "antiquated" practices (4).

Two missionary religions which are themselves factors of this change may be regarded as striving to fill the vacuum and the general unsettlement created by this social change in the religious life of the Aŋlo people. Islam, the later arrival of the impinging faiths, has not had any recognizable impact on Aŋlo traditional religion. Moslems in Aŋloland are very largely, almost entirely, illiterate people from northern Ghana and Upper Volta regions who come down south to earn a living by means which the Aŋlo people consider menial. Simply Islam, as it arrived in Aŋloland, was clothed in the garb of a culture much lower than the prevailing Aŋlo culture. So that Aŋlo reaction towards it could not have been otherwise.

Perhaps the only noticeable influence that may be credited to Islam is in the use of talismans. Even here real Islamic talismans may be numbered and the practice is largely a peculiarity of the literate population with a bent for magic. Many illiterate traditional believers still prefer to obtain magical protection from their own traditional witch-doctors and medicine men making use of traditional methods. In short, the traditional believer, on the whole, looks down upon Islam as the religion of the less civilised. However, with the attainment of Ghana's self-rule and the opening of foreign missions from Islamic states, the picture may change. But, right now, the hold of Christianity seems to be comparatively so strong in Angloland that it is almost hazardous to forecast a brighter future for Islam in the foreseeable future.

There are many Christian converts in Angloland today. Tied up with formal Education as Christianity's work of evangelism is in many parts of the world, almost all illiterate Anglo people are baptized Christians. To many of these people and the large majority of illiterate traditional believers, Christianity seems to have an attraction because its garb is predominantly western culture - a much higher culture than the prevailing Anglo one. So that in Angloland Christianity is largely embraced because it is mainly looked upon as a hall-mark of civilisation and many share in it as a fashion in vogue the rejection of which is a sign of immaturity in matters

of civilisation. In fact, generally speaking, the adoption of Christianity does not appear to be a well-thought out decision consequent upon a deep internal spiritual conflict which characterizes all genuine religious conversions. It should not, therefore, be surprising if the life of the average Anglo Christian does not seem to suggest that the new faith has brought any changed view reasonably different from the traditional world view in which he has been born and nurtured and which may still largely surround him.

Scattered throughout the main body of this work are evidences of Christian converts participating in rites and ceremonies both personal and corporate, connected with traditional objects of worship. Of course, some there are who may be regarded as having made a break with their traditional past. But how far the break is complete is yet to be known. Admittedly, these "faithful" Christians may not be seen participating personally in any traditional religious practices. The uncritical observer, then, may jump to the conclusion that this behaviour is a sure sign of both outward and inward strength in the adopted faith. But threatened by the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune or weighed down by public opinion favourable to traditional religion, many of these "devout" Anglo Christians re-act in a way that is not basically different from an unconfessed belief. The following is a common instance.

The only child of a "devout" Christian is unwell, perhaps at the point of death. Symptoms appear which traditional believer relatives or friends attribute to the dangerous manifestation of a traditional holy. The cure is prescribed to be effective only in a traditional shrine. Those around may not waste time to cite one or two parallels similarly treated, and the "devout" Christian himself may vividly recall similar instances in the life of a traditional believer or a fellow Christian. Though he himself may not go, all the same, this "devout" Christian does not offer any resistance when his traditional believer relative takes the sick child to a shrine for a cure. So that Christianity's penetration of Anglo

traditional religion may be regarded as a thin veneer if this description is taken to mean that the bulk of Anglo Christians have not taken over the conception of the Universe and the nature of man within which Christianity finds its fullest meaning. Indeed many live in two worlds - in the traditional in belief and conviction and the Christian in outward observances.

The emergence, a quarter of a century ago, of the Apostolic Revelation Society, an Anglo "Spiritual" Church, does not only suggest a failure (5) in the orthodox Christian approach to traditional religion in Angloland. It does also show that some there are in Angloland who consider Christianity as, perhaps, the faith that can aptly fill the religious vacuum should traditional religion disintegrate beyond redemption and who, at the same time, are trying to work to indigenize Christianity

to with-stand the stress and strain of traditional beliefs. A copious account of this Church is recorded by Prof. C.G. Baëta (6). Relevant here is this Church's method of interpreting the Christian message with an attempt to clothe it in the garb of Anglo culture so as to reduce the psychological and emotional upset consequent upon a sudden break with the past that orthodox Christianity demands from its converts. But a thorn in the flesh of this church is her neglect of emphasis on sound theological education as a prerequisite to the effective interpretation of the Gospel message and the putting of the Christian clock many centuries back in the resurgence of a good deal of Old Testament practices which may not be safely gathered into the fold of "modern" Christianity which must be "localized" but, at the same time, linked with "universal" Christianity.

To avoid a probable complete disintegration in the face of Christianity, Anglo Traditional religion itself is not resting on its oars. It has modified itself consciously to some extent, and may continue to do this, with a view to making it possible for a Christian to continue in safely both in his new faith and in that of his fathers regarded as his cultural heritage which must not be neglected. A Christian may be exempted from the ritual shaving of the head when this rite forms part of an initiation ceremony. A Christian is allowed to commune with the traditional holy by proxy where this may not be permissible to

the non-Christian traditional believer. Above all, illiterate traditional believers are more than willing to store up the symbolic representations of personal deities belonging to their Christian relatives. So that Christianity in its impact on Anglo traditional religion, far from having a landsliding effect, has rather acted as an incentive towards the adaption of some traditional practices to perpetuate traditional beliefs(7).

Further evidence of the resistance of Christianity by traditional religion is supplied by the Anglo Christian's approach to his adopted Holy. Christian worship in Angloland is fraught with "funeral and thanksgiving services" which point to an unconscious loyalty to some traditional beliefs like the indispensability of mortuary rites for a safe launching of the souls of the departed in the land of the dead. Then, a Christian, delivered from a fatal accident or illness, does not hesitate to go before the Christian Holy with an offering. As prayer, he may choose a "Biblical passage" like Psalm 91; even an imprecatory psalm! - an approach not basically different from that of his traditional believer relative. All this, the Christian does to thank the Holy for bestowing on him abundant life which, with his traditional frame of mind, is a sure testimony to his inward practice of true religion. Indeed an average Anglo Christian cannot imagine why a sincere follower of Christ must suffer. To him, suffering in general, is incompatible with a believer's closer walk with his God.

In short, Job-like faith and service is meaningless to him in fact pointless as part of true religion. Parenthetically, this work shares in the consideration of Aqlɔ religion as "lower" largely because this religion cannot conveniently harmonize suffering and disinterested worship with true religion - a stage long passed by many of the "higher" religions.

Perhaps the mainstay of this resistance of Christianity by Aqlɔ traditional religion is the traditional conception of religion itself. Aqlɔ traditional religion regards all religions as the means whereby the One High God, in His own wisdom, has equipped various peoples in various places under diverse conditions the world over, so as to facilitate communion of all peoples with Him. Relevant here is one incident often cited in this work. During the early days of Christianity in Aqlɔland, a German missionary, in preaching a sermon to a heathen audience, used the term God, which was interpreted by the equivalent of the Aqlɔ High God, Mawu. But where it became necessary to use a personal name for the Son of God, Jesus was used. So at the end of the sermon one thoughtful traditional believer demanded to know if Nyigblɛ was the same as Jesus. For to him, like any present day traditional believer, Nyigblɛ was the Son of God to the Aqlɔ people exactly as Jesus was the Son of God to the Europeans. So that if the "European God" is translated into Aqlɔ as "Mawu", to him it stands to reason to translate the Son of God by the Aqlɔ equivalent if it became necessary to use a

personal name. Else some reasonably acceptable relationship must be established between Jesus and Nyigblā. It is not, therefore, surprising that the holy wrath of this traditional believer was evoked when the missionary condemned Nyigblā.

This conception of religion explains the remarkable tolerance and peaceful co-existence of religions in the life of the sincere Aqlō traditional believer. This is why he reverences, apart from his own, any known holy of any other people. It is this same principle that is at work when ritual specialists and their cult servants turn out in large numbers for Christian worship especially during Christian festivals. When Christians offer prayers to God "through Jesus Christ our Lord"; when the Madonna and the saints are prayed to for protection; and when Christians wear crucifixes, crosses and images of saints and also protect property with them; to the thoughtful traditional believer, this, as a reminder of his own traditional practices, is a pointer to him to continue with his "old wine" - a testimony to his participation in what is the universal principle variously interpreted by social groups in their communion with the One Great God.

However, with the advance of Education, better Scientific knowledge and extensive acquaintance with other religions, the Aqlō traditional believer will sooner or later know that his religion, as it obtains at present in its ideals, has not yet reached a high water-mark of religious development. The similarities that he notices even with "higher" religions

are rather to show him that his religion too has seeds of development and that he must aspire to the attainment of nobler religious heights. Then he may realize that true religion does not glory in dissipating religious zeal on a multitude of lesser objects of worship; that true religion does not recognize the destruction of one's enemies as a genuine manifestation of man's co-operation with the High God for the ultimate triumph of goodness; and that true religion is, above all, disinterested worship. How soon this will be cannot be safely forecast. Or whether when the time comes, Anglo traditional religion will survive, enriched with the nobler ideals of known "higher religions". Indeed the advance of Christianity is on the increase however much this impinging faith is resisted by the host religion. Any threats, therefore, to the survival of Anglo traditional religion in the immediate future may be from Christianity and not from the blatant and gruesome "materialism of the bastard-religion Communism" (8). The spiritual world is much too real to the Angloman, illiterate or literate, for him to accept unquestionably a life that pledges itself to atheism (9).

NOTES: C H A P T E R X I .

1. Refer his op.cit (revised 1961) Pp.8-9 and his contribution in Smith, E.W.(1950 ed) op.cit P.226.
2. For instances of communion with the High God as the Ultimate Goal of all worship through the deities and the ancestors, refer App. B. No.21, 22, 23, 50, 59,61.
3. With the arrival of the Church began modernization in Anloga (1906) and in Afife in the early fifties, - the areas for intensive study. So that there are some eye witness to speak reasonably of "unadulterated" traditional life. See also note 5 below.
4. App. B. No.50. App. C. "Anlo State Council" Resolution of the 23rd June, 1961.
5. The failure of Christianity's method of evangelism should not be allowed to overshadow the exemplary and self-sacrificing sincerity of the missionaries and the enormous social work which indeed is a guide to the developing programmes of many emergent nations today in Africa and elsewhere. Anlo land, in particular, is indebted to Christianity for pioneering work in civilization. For, poor in natural resources, this area was not originally attractive to the Colonial Powers.
6. Baeta C.G. op.cit (1962) Chap 5 and App C.

7. Some people are of the opinion that the disappearance of the old deities and cults in the face of modernization spells a substantial doom to African traditional religion. This is not unlikely. But this work does not consider this enough force to threaten the survival of Anlo traditional religion in particular. For apart from the "adaption method" in some older cults, there also arise new cults already adapted to suit contemporary needs. Tigare and Blekete are fair examples and D.K. Fiawoo's account on them is informing.
8. Parrinder, E.G. op.cit (London 1962) P.96
9. Mendelsohn, J. : God, Allah and JuJu (Nelson 1962) especially Chap.VI in which the African Elite testify, by their utterances and actions, to the reality of the Spirit world in the life of the African.

APPENDIX ARECORDED RITUAL RECITALS IN THE ORIGINAL ADJO LANGUAGE

I

RITUAL RECITALS CONNECTED WITH THE CULT OF THE DEAD

1.

Mama 'Sife meyo wò ndi ya kekeke. Nyemeyo wò de afia me o; agbe dzi ko meyo wò do. Mifebe mfade uvu ruti na srò wò egbea - egbe Yawodagbe ya. Etsie yi naxo ne fafa nava kekeke. Ne miewe alea, uee kple uea, miakpo wò ha gbo wò. Yee ya woge miewa. Etsie yi naxoe kekeke loo! 'mesiamé wo lã me nana sesie.

2.

O! Togbui Lẽ mevna tsi me o! Kpokposu! Afla be yedze gbe nyaa ku! Evifeme 'fedoa kenken woso; wo bena yewoade uvu ruti na wò. Kpoea! natsi ku dzo; natsi do dzo kenken; fafa nava. Afedoa wo nu naso. Ameyiwo medzina oa, woakpo asi ade adzi. Ameyi nye agblelaa, agble-kodzi nakpo gbe ne tsetsea nawu ama kekeke. Ameyi nye todala, neyi to gbo ha, eto nake nu ne, madumaduawo nayi to duqua-wo nava go nyagã, miano xaa mee feyi feyi. Kpoea! Wò ruto nawoe woadi tututu. Ne ewo eya na mia ha, ẽ ne mifele agbea ha, atsoa blo - atsoa blo yli nadi ruti wò. Afla dze gbe nyaa ku! Kpoea! eyi miewe egbea ha - asafoa soa - ne ke le amea de kple navia do mea, kea nana afe me miewe ruti wò do nyagã, miabu ruti wò. Lẽ mevna tsi me o! Afla dze gbe nyaa ku! matutu dzi me na wò hee! Ku nayi; do nayi keke.

Nya yi dzo mia dome nkeke etse ya, menyo o. Gake menye dzoe ya gbedegbede o. Wò Togbui, eyi neli koa, etoe nye miede me - Menye 'gbetoe ya gbedegbede o; anye nkeke lae de Mia wo lame nana sesie; mia wo nu naso; afedoa wo nu naso tsitsitsi. Ne rutsu keto, nyonu keto de doe de afedo ya ruti bena wo nu naso gbedegbede oa, o! ye ruto. Togbui Lẽ mevna tsi me o! Nu glama yi nye nu tsea dea gado mo da nyitsa ya; wotsi kpo dze wo anyigbawo fe afiadewo be yewo toe. Nya maa nagbãe do; nagbãe do godogodo. Menya wò siaa; ale ya newo nea, numa ya menye nanekke ma o. To towo gbã nele; menye toa dekee ma o; nagbã to ma ya do.

3.

Ameyi fe nya mevivia 'me nu oa, wòavivi ame nu kekeke. Ameyiwo nye dokplolawo le mia domea, ne woyi dogbea do nenyò na wo tututu; ne amea de bu tame vò de doa rutia, nedze ya ruto dzi. Mia wo lame nana sesie mi katã miano gbo wò. ẽ ne wohe Wò de goa miano ruti wò bliba, amesiamé nakpo dzidzo. Nyonu, rutsu, togbuiyovi, sranyivi

naso gbe kekeke. Amesiamé je lāme nana sesie mīegbe v̄s loo! Fafa nava na mī. Dzi neva dza mīafe nukuwo nazo mīatsa ayi, w̄danye akoe age de x̄o me na mī mīatsa na n̄uti w̄o bumee.

4.

Viw̄o yawo kenken le gbedzi le yevudo gboá wo lāme nana sesie, nu nabe de nu me na wo. Yevu natsa nu ake wo - eyi mīewom fifia wo dza gbona, yesiayi wole m̄o dzi - hafi mīana n̄uti w̄o bumee. 'Yata nalé wo sesie dzo v̄s nagame amea deke o. Du n̄ku nalé wo. Togbuiyovi, sr̄nyiviwo kenken ya de Suku, le yevudo gbo koa, w̄o lāme nana sesie, yevu natsa nu ake w̄o. Enu metsoa x̄ome yia gbe me gbedegbede o. Amedahew mīenye. Gbedzie nu tsona vaa 'feme. E devi yiwo ken le gbedzia, etsa ame nabe wonetsa k̄ba d̄o de ye, ye vi nedo k̄o de ye. Womena gbeme nenema o; gbedzie enu tsona evaa 'femee. "Dzila lee! x̄om nadzra d̄o nam; natsa awo ale kple ale de megbe nam" Ehee! nenema wona Togbui gb̄e nye kem. Ne w̄o n̄uto mewo oa, atsi d̄i me; w̄o n̄utse w̄oge hafi n̄uti w̄o nako. Ne ewo, etsa kple nyitsa, ne mīele agbea, atso ablo yli n̄adi n̄u w̄o.

5.

Afedoa nasee. Davu! nasee na 'fedoa be egbea mīekpo agbo d̄eka si ke afedoa tso bena woax̄o woatsa na asafoawo ne woawu ne Togbea. Mīegbe v̄s Lāmesese, aboka, adrika. Ete le n̄u; koklo le n̄u; wonex̄o woatsa na 'blafoa, w̄awu na Togbea na mī loo!

6.

Migasee. Amelabe Misiso, enye mīafe togbuiyovi; etsa d̄o yi de Ge-futae yi ke yiawo d̄o. Eva ka 'tam na Togbea bena, ne yeyi wodze 'dzi na ye tututua, yeana 'gbo d̄eka kple koklo. A! m̄di naneke tsotsa o. Ebe eyi yeyia h̄a, enyo na ye. Eya, etsa agboá v̄s be mīax̄o woatsa na asafoa, w̄atsa na 'blafoa, w̄awu na Togbea na ye loo! Koklo le n̄u loo!

7.

Enua va mex̄o tso na afedoa w̄atsa na 'safoa, w̄atsa na 'blafoa, w̄awu na Togbea loo!

8.

Togbeawo! L̄e mevana tsi me o! Afla be yedze gbe nyaa ku! Nyatefee nana gbea sem. Edzo n̄ue ke. An̄l̄st̄owo An̄l̄o dzram d̄o; Eveawo Eve dzram d̄o. Eya Evifeme 'fedoa, Togbuiyoviwo so kenken wobe yewoade vuvu n̄uti na w̄o. Eyi mīele tsia v̄o, Afedoa, wokpo te, wokpo agbo d̄eka, koklo ebo de n̄uti; yee afedoa kpo wotsa fia asafoa; asafoa tso numawo kata de asi na nye, 'blafoa, be max̄o made asi na w̄o Togbe, Amega L̄e, Afla dze gbe nyaa ku! Nax̄o! Kudzowo natsi; d̄odzowo

natsi kekeke, dagbe nava na yewo. Ne amea de nye agblede laa, ne yi agble gboa ha, agble kodzitsi nekpo gbe ne tsetsea na wu ama. Ne ameyi ke nye todowola, ne yi to gboa ha, madumaqua neyi to duqua nava go hotowo naxo miano xaa mee feyifeyi. Ameyi ke medzina oa, nekpo asi ade adzi vi. 'Gbetowoe nye asafo; 'gbetowoe nna fia nuti hafi fia wo gbe dea dzi. Togbeawo! menye kpo o; menye gli o; etoe nye miede mee. Aleya Togbeawo wonea, klo dzi ya mele fifia, mawo Togbeawo todzi pepepe fafa nava me. Enua va mexoe na wo hee! Wo ha naxoe na mi. Me tetaa me tso ge; agboa mewu ge de Togbeawo to dzi pepepe. Ku nayi! Do nayi loo!

9.

Metso te ta na wo hee; makpo te adu wanye ku na wo o hee. Dagbe ko wanye na wo.

10.

O! Togbui Le mevona tsi me o!
Afla dze gbe nyaa ku!
Kpokposu! Togbosu!
Evifeme 'fedoa be ha,
Ne nya le yewoa, nya ne tasi yewo.
Ne ahe le yewoa, ahe ne tasi yewo.
Ne do le yewoa, edo ne tasi yewo
Gake ne dagbe be yeale yewoa ha,
Ne le yewo gongongon.

11.

Togbui Le mevona tsi me o! Afla dze gbe nyaa ku!
Kpokposu! Dagbe dzimee mifele hee. Ne amea de nye dokplolaa, doa nenyono. Amea de nye agbledela agble nenyono. Amea de nye asitsalaa, asisiawo nefo fu de edzi. Miedzi dagbe nunyona. Ameyiwo ken le Yevuawo gbo do woma, yevuawo natsa nu ake wo wanyo woatsa ve miaqu. Kpoea! Miegbe v! Miawo lame nana sese, amesime. Aleya mieso de nuti wda, wo nuto ekpe; nahe dagbe ve na mi fuu, wdatu mi kata loo!

12.

O! Amevwo to; miatse nye fis. Mekla mi hee. Agoo! na mi!
A! Atopa! meyo wo. Dagbe dzie meyo wo do. Eva dze Togbeawo abe amedzro ene. Edoa vugbe daa abe aleya nedone tso tsowofe ke ene. Dzo que ke! Anlɔtowo Anlɔ dzram do; ^{Evean} dzram do. Evifeme 'fedoa woso - Togbuiyovi, srɔnyivi, wo kata woso. Wobe yewoade vuvu nuti na togbe Kpokpoa. Miedie vo. A! afedoa, Togbuiyovi, srɔnyivi, wokpo agbo deka, koklo le nuti wotsa na Kloba 'safoa. Enyee nye Blafoa. Kloba 'safoa xoe tso de asi nam metsona Togbea vo. Ame labe wo Atopa enea koklo yi deka yiboe dekae neduna. Alea nye ko nuti wde nye yi. Eyaa, Togbe - Kpokpoa me vu noge nayie gbo

gbedegbede o. Ne amedzro dze amea de wolea be ne vevitoe. Amedzroe nye dze mi. 'Yata mialé be na wo vevie. Mi afedoa mifex wò alo 've. Miekpo koklo yi deka, yiboe deka le ruti. Naxoe ne Togbeawo kekeke. Nado vugbe pepepe. Ne amea de le afia de 'fia bena eyi neva dze Amega Lẽ 'fedoa be yano kpokpoa qua, yee wòbe megado vugbe oa, Oo! Nado wò gbe tututu abe aleyi netso afe lee ene. Eyi neva afiya hã, mawue nenyé pepepe; mawua, ye rutoe dea si. Nakpo afedoa me, togbuiyovi srɔnyiviwo nalé ame 've woano ruti wò bum ne wò gbe nade dzi. Gbe yi ko meɔo na wòe nye yi. Kpoea! Enua va mexoe na wò hee. Wo hã naxoe na mi loo!

13.

Davu! nasee wòade afedoa gbo wòayi Aklobb 'safoaa gbo be mifele tsi na togbea vo; ewu lãka ne vo. Miekpo aha 'tukpa etɔ woaxoe woatsɔ na klobb 'safoa, be wo lãwuhæ yi loo!

14.

Mele gbea dzi wovayom be mfiayi Kongo. Nye ruto nyemete nu kpɔ vovo te nu va o. Gake meɔo dza de fonye be wòatsɔ akpo Togbeae. Eya ede kle megbe nye, dee ngo nye meli sesie megbo. Egbea eyi mesi be Togbea tsi legea, metso aklala abo 'deke kple aha 'tukpa deka, donɔ dom ne loo!

15.

Agoo! Hoesa de nu li, nye lãme megava sesẽm o. Eya, mebe ne Togbea di nam nye lamẽ le sesie kple vinyewoa, mava na te deka kple ahavivi 'tukpa eve. Eyi Togbea di go gbea, meva yi dzi enu yawo tso ve ne wòaxo agade kle megbe nye adee ngo, ahe vinyewo nam wo lãme nana sesie kple nye ruto hã loo!

16.

Enuawo va mexowo alo 've; matsœ na Togbeawo loo!

17.

A! Togbui Lẽ mevɔna tsi me o! Kpokposu! Togbosu! Afla dze gbe nyaa ku! Meyo wò. Amee nye kem le klo dzi. Enkœ nye Katé. Yee tso nuyawo de asi nam. Ebe eyi yele gbea dzia, - miaɔo ŋku edzi nam hee - ebe yele gbea dzi koa woyɔ yewo bena yewoayi Kongo. Eyaa, yeva ka 'tam na wò Togbea Lẽ bena ne 'kpe de ye nu, edzo ye kelevɔ, zãvɔ, ekpo ye ta yete nu de du ma mea - Afima woyɔ ye be yene yia hã, ye fofo hã mede kpɔ eɔo dzee na ye o; ye dada hã mede kpɔ eɔo dzee na ye gbedegbede o. Ne ye dada alo ye fofo de wode afima kpɔa ne wotsœ ɔo dze na ye. Eya, deko woyɔ ye kpata dzika tso yefo. Wò Togbea etoe ne nye yewo de mee. Eya yeva ka 'tam na wò bena ne ekplo ye yeyia

do ye dofe vavã, do yi gbe woyã ye, yeyi de do gbo doa me fu na ye, doa nyo na yea, yea na wò aklala abo deke aha nabo de eguti. Nyatefee, eyi yetsae na wò abe atamkaka enea yede yenofe afiya wobe yeayia atsi mekli ye o, eka mede ye o. Eyi yedoa, edo yi gbo wokplo ye yia, edoa hã de mo na ye yewoe kenken, yegagbo va afe edo ye fofu si me. Azo yesee be egbea wo vuuvu de ge nti na wò naqu te zã nano vu. Edzo dzi na ye ntu. Atam ya yeka na wò yetutugea, menye yamee yetu ge do o. Eufeme 'fedoa, Togbuiyovi, sronyivi wo soso ge, 'ye Asafoa naso. Wòle be egbea, Yawodagbe ya yeatui godogodo 'Yata yetso aklala abo deke, aha 'tukpa deka le 'nti bena dono dono, edono na wò loo! Ye akpe dam na wò loo! 'Atam ya yekaa, yetui na wò egbea loo! Enua va mexoe na wò alo 've hee, wo hã naxoe na mí.

18.

Togbui Lẽ mevona tsi me o! Kpokposu! Amedehee. Afla be yedze gbe nyaa ku! Megayo wò ake. Dagbe ya dzi meyo wò doa, dagbea koe menye vɔ gbedegbede o. Enue gale asi nye - Eta gãa loboo gale ako nye me. Mevemo, enye wò dzatu; yee ma le klo dzi bena, yeyi vee va yi yeva dze klo na wò. Nane ve ye ntu; eklẽ nu na ye dzika tso yefo. Yede rugble vuuvu hã, wò Togbea, menye kpo yeade me wò navuvu gbedegbede o. Menye gli yeade me wò namu ye te, tedzo naqu ye gbedegbede o. Etoe nenyi ye dzilawo de mee koo hã, yehã yede me wò vavato. Ke nu ya do nuklẽ na ye, yeva dze klo na wò eka'tam na wò, eyi ye yiyim vua, yeva kpo dedevia de tso mee. Egbe Yawodagbe ya, yesee wobe egbea etsi le ge adu te zã adu lãka. 'Yata yedze agbagba, atam ya yeka na wò yekpo te, ahavivi atukpa 've le nti be yeatu atama na wò. Ye akpe dam na wò, dono dono! Eya mewo na yea, edzo dzi na ye na gawoe wòayi ngo awu ya. Yekpo ahavivi; yeme aha dzeaglã dze ge yease nya dzeaglã o. Yedze ahavivi 'tukpa 've bena ne yedze mo dzia yease nya vivia dewo. Enya yiwo ke hã yeagbloa ye wo nya ne vivi ame nu. Alea wòdo wo 'Uegbe lee ya. Togbui! enua va mexoe; mexoe na wò alo 've hee. Wò hã naxoe na mí hee. Meto.

19.

Naxoe na 'safoa; afedoa fe nu naso; asafoa wo nu naso. Ameyi ke medzina oa, wòakpo srɔ afe; akpo vi adzi. Efiaa, hae nãa nu, ye fia nyɔna. Ne amea de bu tame vɔ de gbo wò nola, Amegã Lẽ yi subo wòm qua, eye afedoa hã bo de qua, ne amea de bu vɔ de nti, evɔ nedze ye ntu dzi. Ameyi ke di agbe nea, amea hã neno sesie. Ne eyi dwojefa doa me ne ko ne. Eno ne edi ku na Amegã Lẽ koa, ne eyi dwojefa, doa negblẽe!, doa negblẽe, wòagblẽe. Ne eno aha hã, nezu vu de do me ne. godogodo wòatsae yi tsiẽ. Ameyi ke dzi Agbe na Amegã Lẽa wòano sesie, akpa akoe adu, akpo aha nyo ano, akpo awu nyo ado. Togbewo! egbe yi afedoa do nam be maɔ na mia nye yi hee. Meto.

20

Oo! Afla dze gbe nyaa ku! Togbui Lẽ mevɔna tsime o. Meyɔ wò, nyemeyɔ wò de ṽša deke dzi o; dagbe dzie meyo wò do. 'E, ame abe Teté Zonyira ene, yike le Tema le yevudo woma, ebe yeatsyo 'yo na wò. Ekpo avo be yeatsyo na wò. Aha 'tukpa 've le 'guti. Do yi me wòlea doa me nako ne kenkenken. Medɔ ṽš na amea deke o. Ne amea de di ṽš nea, ṽša ne dze ye guto dzi. 'E, yevu wo do me wòle. Yevuwo navu ŋku de 'gu. Woatsɔ nu ne wòatsɔ ve mɛaɖu. Avo vuvu 'gu; natsyo 'vo ne. Ke ne amea de to te be doa negblẽ nea, ame ma to negblẽ kenkenken. 'E yevuawo navu ŋku de eguti; wo lãme nana sesie; woatsɔ nu akee wòatsɔ ve mɛaɖu. Avo lee ya; mexoe; mexom na wò, yee metsyo ge na wò. Nyemetsyom de do dzi o; nyemetsyom de nya dzi o; nyemetsyom de ku dzi o. Metsyom na wò de dagbe, nunyonaamea, aboka, adrika, lãmesesẽ dzi loo! Tsetsea na wu ama loo!

21.

Afla dze gbe nyaa ku! Togbui Lẽ mevɔna tsi me o! Meyɔ wò kekeke; nyemeyɔ wò de ṽša deke dzi o. Lãka yi mɛwua, bibia nye yi naxo. Menam ne dagbe nava na mɛ. Nunyonaamea, natso amume, natso 'fume, akpasiakpa avadze mɛa ko me loo! Nade kle mia megbe, adee mɛa ŋgo mɛa wo lãme nana sesie afedoa wo nu nasa. Mfegbe ṽš loo! Fafa nava. Afla dze gbe nyaa ku. Ameyi medune ami oa, yee nye yi wòatsɔ yi Mawu gbɔe wòanye dagbe na mɛ nunyonaamea nava na mɛ loo! Afedoa wo nu nasa kenkenken. Ameyiwo medzina oa, woadzi. Ameyiwo nye asitãla woa, ne woyi asigbea, asi nenyɔ na wo. Agbledela, nenyɔ ne; tɔdɔwɔla, nenyɔ ne. Nusianu amesiame wona, wòakpo ta ne kenkenken. Mfedi nunyonaamea. Natsɔe yi Mawu gbɔe naxo yayra ve na mɛ loo!

22.

Togbui Lẽ mevɔna tsi me o! Lãka ŋugbe mfedoa nua, bie vo. Evɔe nye yi. Xo! Tsɔe yi Mawu nɔfee. 'E nadi aboka adrika lamesesie na mɛ. Afedoa wo nu nasa kekeke; mɛawo do doa nanyo na mɛ mɛakpo akoe mɛaɖu. Viwò yiwo kenken le gbea dzi le yevudo gbɔa, doa me neko na wo. Do yi gbɔ wòlea, yevu netsɔ nu na wo; nu nebe de nu me na wo woatsɔ na mɛ le afedoa me. Nu metsoa xome yia gbedzi o. Gbedzie nu tsona evaa xomee. Togbui mɛe kuku dem na wò nadi duɖu na mɛ. Amea deke mewɔa de nu xlene gbedegbede o. Nahe mɛ sesie mɛaso guti wò fe sia fe. Gbe yi medo na wò yee yi.

23.

Afla dze gbe nyaa ku! Togbosu! Kpokposu! Togbui Lẽ mevɔna tsi me o. Mɛwu lãka vo; ewo agbodzromle.

Bibia nye yi mletsotsom na wò. Naxo na mí. Nađe nuṽwo ɔa kekeke; nadi ɔagbe na mí. Kpɔea! ṽ neto dzi. Ameṽwo katã, nađe wo ɔa mía ɔu. Nya glãma yia le mía dzia, nađe ɔa na mí. Egbe nkeke ya miedo fifia, enye munya wo nkeke. Navu tagbo na mí ne miedo afo anyia miaso ɔe ɔuti. Kpɔea! ṽ ne to dzi fafa nava. Miegbe ṽ, nuṽwo katã neyi. Ne ewo na mí alea, etsɔa, miagaso ɔe ɔuti wò godoo. Gbe yi dom mifele na wò natsɔ ayi Mawu gbo axo yayra vo na mí. Mía wo lãme nana sesie. Ketowo nedo ɔa mía ɔuti ne mia no anyi sesie. Mía wo afedoa nyinyim; wò ɔuto nana ameyiwo nye dzidziawo woadzi; madzimadziawo hã woadzi ne miaso ɔe ɔuti wò godoo.

24.

Togbui Lã meṽna tsi me o. Elã ya miewua, evua⁴ bi naxo. Kpɔea! Afedoa wo nu nasɔ kekeke. Nana aboka sesie adrika sesie mí. Enunyonamea amea ɔe nye agble laa, neyi agble gbo hã, agble nenyɔ ne wɔanyo hoto naxo wɔanye akoe wɔaɔu. Ameyi nye todalaa, ne eyi to gbo, to nenyɔ ne wɔanye akoe wɔaɔu kple viawo. Ede nue, amea deke mewo ɔe nu gbe deka o. Feyifeyi miano xaam. Mía viwo kple mía novi yiwo kenken le gbea dzia ɔo nenyɔ na wo nu ne be ɔe nu me nawo woatsɔ va afee miatsɔ ano ɔuti wò bu mee feyifeyi. Ketowo, nađe wofo nu ɔa mia ɔu afedoa nasɔ. Aboka! Adrika!

25.

Ameṽwo to, ameṽwo to ameṽwo to. Miatɔ fie; fie via fie wɔdena. O! Togbui Awusu meyo wò. Meyo Axolugã, eyo Katsriku. Meyo ameyiwo ke nye etenɔlawo, Hayibo kple 'two; Geyevi; mi Togbeawo katã katã meyo mi. Medzi gbea deke o. Kekea ke egbe Yawoɔagbe ya mifebe miafo tsi ɔi na mí, Afekpa. Ne mifebe ɔi koa, wɔanye ɔagbe. Duko ya katã eme nafa miamiamia miakpo ɔagbe. Ameyi ke le teƣe wò, Avadada, wo lãme nana sesie. E, mí gbedoɔatowo hã mía wo lãme nana sesie kple mía viwo kenken.

Fiawo nase gbe na wonɔawo; dua nase gbe na fiawo; 'ye fiawo hã nase dua wo gbe. Due nye fia. Nuṽa ɔe gbɔnaa, Togbui! Kaklaku! Adzoyi baɔa be yeno akume si aku! Lã baɔa dze gbedzi gbea bo! nađe nuṽa ɔa mía dzi ada ɔe dua dewo dzi wɔanye nya miaso kple to loo!

O! Togbui Awusu Kaklaku! Miawo ya la, eyi mietso Hogbe koa, enu ko dim mifele wɔanye dɔwɔnu na mí. Agblelawo mienye ganye todalawo. Egbe wo ɔu ya kea, agblea ko dzie mifele, etsɔa ko damee mifele. Uedziɔ nedza, ne agblela yi agblea hã, agble-kodzi nakpo gbe ne tsetsea na wu ama. Eto ya ɔo wonɔa, wɔagagbu gbo ava etefe. Anlɔvia, mekpɔa toɔome o totae wɔkpɔna. Maɔumaɔuwawo neyi to duɔuwawo nava go, hotowo naxo wɔazu akoe na mí miano xaa mee.

Mià vi yiwo katã le Suku, le gbedzi le dɔwɔfeɛ, nu nenyɔ na wo, wo lãme nɛnɔ sesie; woakpɔ nu atso va 'fedoa me. Ke ameyi be womegano oa, ne eyi dɔwɔfeɛ dɔa negbleɛ wɔadze dzi eve etɔ. Akoe ɔagbe! vi ɔagbe! nunyɔnamea nava; tɛtɛsea na wu ama loo! Abɔka adrika ye dim mifele dukɔa me loo!

Tɔgbe Awusu! etsi lee yi loo! Mekɔe ɔi na wɔ. Amea ɔe be Anlɔ megano, yeano oa, ne gbã agba wo gbagbe, wɔagba gudugudu. A! ameyi ke be dua nenyɔa Tɔgbui! ne ebe yeagbãa, negbã tre wo gbagbe ne mifele loo! Fafa neva loo!

A! mifele tsia ɔie vo. Ahae yi naxo. Etsie nye fafa. Aha ya ketɔwo tɔe. Ne ketɔa ɔe noe ɔe mifele nɔtia, ne enoɔa, wɔadzi agblo kple nu mifele "Edze ago; mifele mifele 'me ku o " Aleɛ loo! To nɛnɔ agbe mifele axo nɔtia loo!

26.

Agoo! agoo! agoo! Tɔgbui! Enue le do loo! Avadada nase nya ya be nyitsɔ ya, nyaa ɔe dzo ɔe dzi nye yi ke mevatu wɔ bena nakpɔ Tɔgbui Katsriku nam, ne wɔahem madogo nyaa me. Eya, medo aklala kple agbo nɔgbe. E meɔu nyaa dzi. Eya, meva. Mehe nuawo ve naxo natsɔ na Tɔgbea nam be dɔnɔ dɔnɔ dɔnɔ ne loo! Aleɛa wɔkpe ɔe nɔtia nyea, nyemeda nye ɔɔɔa dzi o. Enuawoe yi loo! wɔagawoe nam wu ya loo!

27.

O! Tɔgbe Kaklaku da de hlãviwo xo. Gidiglagɔ Lãmabimabi fua tsra. Adzoyi baɔa be yeɔo aku me si aku. Da vɔ tso mɔ asisiawo ɔo gbe. Gbe fufu mekpɔa dzo baɔa nɔa te o. Lã baɔa dze gbe dzi gbea bɔ. Meɔo Anana, meɔo Bluku, meɔo Gemadzifianu. Meɔo Gboyimetsealukuo. O! Ametakoli be wɔ nɔtia wɔ nɔtia do wɔ ne yia tsi dzogbe.

A! ame labe Komigã enea, enya ɔo edome, wɔ agbagba dzem uuu va ka 'tam na wɔ bena ne yeɔu nyaa dzi tututua, yeana 'gbo ɔeka, aklala kple nuwo nɔnɔ enɔtia. Azo ele 'dzia, 'ye le wɔ nɔtia mea enɔtia dzi vavã. Eyi wɔdu dzia, etsɔ nuawo ve vatu Avadada be aleɛa wɔgbloɔa, Tɔgbea wɔe na ye. Koa enɔtia na ye loo! Agbo, aklala, dzini 'tukpa 've kple ga siliɔ blatɔvɔade. Nu yawo katã wɔtsɔve na wɔ bena Akpe, akpe, akpe do menya wɔna o. Ameyi le klo dzi eyo wɔ, etsɔ nuawo vɔa, wo lãme nɔnɔ sesie kple wo afe bliboɔa. Nakpe ɔe mifele katã mifele nɔtia. Nakpɔ dua kenkenken. Ne enyɔa wogatsɔge ve na wɔ godogodo. Eɛgbe yi Komigã do be mado na wɔa yee nye yi loo!

28.

Ta kokoko, ta kokoko, ta kokoko; megbona, megbona, megbona. Nye Kodzribasa mele aveɛa me Nye Kodzribasa mele aveɛa me mele aveɛa me, mele Ta kokoko, ta kokoko, ta kokoko.

29.

Agoo na mi, agoo na mi, agoo nami. Amevwo to, amevwo to, amevwo to. Mfata fie miaa. Lɔafeawoe menye, mɔawoe doa gbe da gbe kuna. Egbea zikpui yi ke nye Tsrifo fe zikpuia woɖiɖi ge de anyigba, atsɔe ayi tɔe Tsiame. Afiyi ke wo tsi le ge le nea nye Tsiɔ, eyi ke dzo kpɔlii xoxoxo. Azo wotsɔ tsia de asi nam, nye Lɔafe gutsua. Mefoge di dagbe nava. Nyemeɔ ge de do dzi o; nyemeɔ ge de ku dzi o; nunyonaɔ. Ne ketɔa de be yeawɔe ne'kua menye nyee wui o loo! Tsi ya fo ge meala dia, fafa nava, woazo mo nyuie loo! Ahae yi; ketowoe mɔfɔnɔ di na. Ne ketɔa de bena nu ya gbe meganyo oa ne zu vu de do me ne. Avadatsi nakpɔe kekeke; dagbe loo! Ketowo ne ku eve etɔ.

30.

Agoo na mi, agoo na mi, agoo na mi. Mfata fie, fievia fie wɔdena. Fɔfia zikpui nu wɔge mɔala 'ye zikpuia be yeayi to. Mɔeyina tsi le ge ne; 'ye gbe yi ke togbewo dona da tso blema tititia, afedoa de tre asi nam bena mado gbe ma fomevi da. Fiavi nasɔ gbe, gavi nasɔ gbe. Mɔ Amladeviwoe doa gbe da gbe kuna. 'Yata afedoa de tsi ya asi nam bena mafo di mɔazo dzi wɔanyo na mɔ. Fɔfia tsi ya fo ge meala dia nyemeɔ ge de ku dzi o; nyemeɔ ge de do dzi o. Dagbe dzie meɔ ge do; nunyonaɔ. Keto na ku, fafa nava afe. Ne mɔedze gbea, gbea na ku loo! Fɔfia mɔe zikpuia diɖi ge fafa nava loo! Agbe! Ayi loo! Ahae yi loo! Aha ya ketowo tɔe; mɔatɔe nye fafa. Ne ketɔa de bena mɔagano oa, ne eno ahaa, nezu vu de do me ne, ye guto gbɔe wɔle. Mɔawo ya, amesrɔe nye mɔa srɔ, ame vie nye mɔa vi. Ameyiwo menɔnɔ tsi me oa, wotɔe yi; eyiwo nɔnɔ tsi mea, wotɔe nye yi loo! Fafa neva loo!

31.

Togbui! etsi ya kpɔna? Xɔe natsɔ na Toxlo wɔafo di na ameyiwo tsi Togba ne mɔakɔ wo ne nu ya wo ge mɔla ne ɔnɔ nafa loo!

32.

Toxla! nasee bena Togbe zikpui nɔe medi bena mawo. Wɔle bena zikpui bena yeayi to. 'Ye mɔeva egbea. Ameyiwo ken le Tagba afiya naxo tsia natsɔ na wo woaxɔe. Nu yi wɔge mɔeva nuawo me nako na mi kenken wɔato de etofe. Fiavi nasɔ, gavi nasɔ, ku na yi gbe, agbe nava loo!

33.

Amevwo to, amevwo to, amevwo to. Mɔatɔe nye fie. Meyo Togbewo kenken. Meyo Hatsu, meyɔ wɔ. Meyo wo Togbui Adzo. E meyɔ wɔ Teme; meyɔ Akabutu; meyɔ Tsitsikpleku,

Exo'ke. Meyo mi Togbeawo kata ken'ken. Nu mexlãaafia o. Togbeawo miewa zikpui nua de wo ge le Kpoku 'feme wõle bena mĩaklã mi Tagbatowo. Tsrifo fomea katã mi ameyiwo ke tsi Tagba miewa mĩaklã ge. Zikpui nu ya wo ge Tsrifo fomea lea ame na fa mĩamĩamia. Ne amea de do afo nɔvia dzia, wɔadĩe te. Etsi ya wode asi nama, mi Tagbatowo tɔe loo! Mixɔe de asi na Togbeawo kple mamawo ken' loo! Ahae yi. Ne ketɔa de noe bena nu ya wɔge miewa meganyo oa gbede! Aha lee mixɔe ken'ken mĩeklã mi loo!

34.

Amegã ekpo tsi ya? Xɔe natsɔ na Toxlã wɔafo dɔ na Togbeawo bena zikpui nu ya wɔge miewa eme nafa loo, ahana kaklawo hafi mĩayi tɔ loo!

35.

Toxlã meyo wɔ. Miewa zikpui nu wo ge. Feta kpe Togbui be yeayi tɔ, 'ye miewa afedoa me. Eya avuvi kɔ nɔ yie bena ye Togbeawo fudufe ye qua fu do. 'Ye miewa afedoa me. Miewa dɔ ɔu vɔ, 'ye mĩe tɔ yi ge. Naxɔ tsi ya natsɔ na Togbeawo wɔadɛ afo baɔa dzi na mĩ mĩazo nyuie nuko nana eme.

36.

Amevɔwo tɔ, amevɔwo tɔ, amevɔwo tɔ! Mĩato fie, fie mĩaa. Meklã mi hee! Togbui Kpoku meyo wɔ; meyo wɔ Agbotodzo; meyo Nyase, Kodzogã, Senu Akpagba, Asate Kotokɔ. Meyo Lumo Akplimini, Nyadɛ, Fudzi, Dadivi-kpo-avuvi-te, meyo mi ken'ken. Atikutsetse-mewɔa-hia-nu-o, meyo wɔ. Meyo wɔ. Meyo Tarifo Akagla, Agbenɔxevi, Sokpoli, Adzraku, Avuwɔada meyo mi ken'ken. Mamawo hã ken'ken; Xanuto, Goboame, Noviebu, Afenyoawo-ka, Midzesii, meyo mi. Nu mexlãa afi o. Kwami Akpe nasee na Togbeawo kple mamawo ken'ken. Togbui wɔ Tsrifo wo zia, wova ye wo nu wo ge. Togbeawo fudufe wɔqua fu do. Wova dɔ ɔu, ɛɔu ke mĩeto yi ge woale tsi na Togbe-kpokpoa. Ke wotsɔ tsia de asi na Kpoku 'fomea wɔtsɔ de asi nam mefofo ge dɔ. Eme nako ken'ken fafa nava loo! Fiavi nasɔ gbe; gavi nasɔ gbe. Meganye vɔ na amea deke o loo! Etsie yi mixɔ. Ahae yi ketowo tɔe wɔazu vu de dɔme na wo woayi eve eto loo! Agbe! Ayi loo!

37.

Amevɔwo tɔ, amevɔwo tɔ, mĩato fiemia. Ooo! Mĩato Lɔafeviawo meklã mi hee, menyɔ ba na mi hee. Wode tsi - asi nam be nye Abotsi Tsigbe mafo dɔ. Togbe-Kpokpoa mĩawoe naa tsie hafi wolea tsi nɛ. Egbea mĩele Tsigo me

Amladeviwo na le tsi ne. Aboka adrika loo! Togbui xo tsia loo! Eme nafa loo!

38.

Togbui egbea mieva Tsigo me bena mfade uvu nuti na wo. Mfedi dagbe, amedzidzi. Mfedi ku na mea deke o; agbe ko mfedi. Tsi ya lem miele na wo fifia, wo ha na lee na fomea kenken. Ameyiwo le gbedzi, ameyiwo le afea, wo lame nana sese. Aleya mfedze gbe za ya me kple wo va afiya, wdahe dagbe na mi - amesiame, fome vi, vi vi. Amea deke megaku koke o; amea deke mefua xomedzo o, xexe dzo wofuna. Adzahila me klia 'fo vse o. Ne amea de kli afi vse, wazu nyuie. Kpoea! Ne amea de yi gbe dzia nu nebe de nu me, ne watsa agbo va afee; Gbedzi wokpoa nu lena tsana vaa 'fe loo! Amedzidzi; agbe kple ayi loo! Ne amea de di lu na fome ya ye ha ne ku. Ketsa dzoe wonye tsina akla nu hafi akla fana loo! Dagbe! Ku megano 'me o, do megano 'me o. Miano ewom alea tso mavo me yi mavo me. Ne mienyi fea dea, mifaxe. Bofo na nyo, to na nyo, go na nyo. Ameya le zia dzia nu na nyo ne wanyo na 'fedoa ha. Fomevi, vi vi natsoe do. Yevuawo nalje; ga nadze ga dzine wale Togbea de asi 'ye Togbea ha nalje de asi sese loo! Du nku nalje, wale fomea, fomea ha na lje. Agbe didi, ya dim miele. Agbe nadze wo loo!

39.

Etsi ya lem mele na Togbui 'fia, ye ha nalee nam alee na novi noviwo kata le afeame, walee na fomea kata amea deke megafo di o. Ameyiwo mie do wom na, wale mi. Dowofe ya mele 'fia wanyo nam mahe fomea katae. Afedoa kata, amesiame nuti na di loo! Ne amea de tso nku va bena yeakpo mia, mienye o, ele eya nuto gbo. Mfedi agbe na Osagyefoa. Zikpuia nuto nawoe bena Osagyefoa nalje mife nya. Aba dua tsi megbe akpa. Zikpuia nuto naxo ngo axo megbe na mi loo! Wo nuto nade kle ngo kple megbe na mia novi ya yi ke wofo da fia bena wase nua gome nyuie, wda fie nyuie wadze fia wo to adze ga woto loo! Ne mia wo ha mife nku nade dzi loo! Aboka adrika na amesiame loo! Kpo afedoa kata dzi wo nu naso loo!

40.

I. Ago na mi zigbo zi ete. Afedoa nasee. Eyi meva Ablotsi yi ge zi gbato mevado rugbe na Togbe-Kpokpoa be ne ekplom meyi gagbo dedea, mana agbo deka. 'Ya yee nye eyi. Evelia ya, yee nye rugbe evelia yi medo eyi megava yiyi ge zi evelia. Egbea eyi mife uvu nuti na Kpokpoa, melje agboawo va bena woawu na Togbea loo! Miegbe ve. Netsi dodzo, atsi kudzo, dagbe, fafa na va loo.

II. Agoo na mi ! Agbo ya le nye miamea, ya fomea yee tsce na bena woawu na Togbeawo. Ke eyi le afiyaa, mia wo Togbuiyovi deka tso Flawu yee va ne bena xalaxala-towo bena ye dada feme kpokpo be ye newo dagbe na ye loo! Miegbe, v3, akoe, evi, dagbe loo! ,

40 A

Novi neso, miegbe nya loo! Do ne yi; ahe neyi; ku neyi. Dagbe nava loo! Wò guto nade ha de fomea nu abe aleyi wodee de wò hã nu wò ene egbea. Du nku nel3 mí kata loo! Agble ne nyo na mí katã loo!

41.

Agoo na mi! Nyitsɔ ya mie-li ko miawo amegã fo ya kpata. Eya wova hiã bena miawo aho ne. Miele ahotsi vo 'ye miekpɔnu nyawo bena miatsɔ na woawu ada ne loo! Ne excea, wɔaxce na 'dokui kple afedoa kple avaviawo katã loo. Ne excea wɔazu dzodidi ano mia katã mia nu loo! Megagblẽ mí di nya natsɔ, ahe natsɔ, do natsɔ, eku natsɔ gbedegbede o loo! Miano sesie kple deviawo kenken; ne mieyi asia asi na nyo na mí loo!

42.

Agoo zi gbɔ zi et3 na mi. O! Amegã Tomisi Avuwɔada, meyo wò ndi ya. A eva gblẽ mi di nyitsɔ. Eyi negblẽ mi di alea, sr3woa wonyi fu na wò, le futsi vo, eye wokpo gb3 deka kple kpakpaxe adre - amesiame deka deka - wotsɔ de asi na nye Atsu Agba, be matsɔ na wò loo. Etsie le egu. Wobe ne excea, naxce na afedoa katã. Yewo katã, deviwo kple afedo bliboa, nana sesie. Afedoa fe nu nasɔ loo! Nagagblẽ mí di ku natsɔ do natsɔ, ahe natsɔ o loo!

43.

Agoo zi gbɔ zi et3 na mi. O! Amegã Tomisi Avuwɔada! Eva bú ta nyitsɔ. Eyi neva bú ta alea, esɔwoa wole ahotsie vo. Wokpo kpakpaxewo kple gb3 míewu na wò va yi. Fifia woɔa nuawo vo. Eti - 3! ne que ke ndia etie wò guto ne nona - wowo ti kpe de nuawo nu na wò. Eti lee nye yi naxɔ natsɔ kpɔ afedoa dzie. Woɔa molu azi le nu; wowo kokoe fo detsififi de nu; molu suklitɔa hã nye yi; akplẽ akpadetsi, amidze, Tɔdziha, to wòe nye wo katãkatã kenken loo! Etsie yi, dzatsie yee naxce na afedoa loo! wò kple avaviawo kenken. Azo megagblẽ mí di ku natsɔ, do natsɔ ahe natsɔ o loo. Mí katã, ɛ kpedevi kliko, mia wo lãme nana sesie wò dɔwɔnu yiwo katã negblẽ dia nade asi wo guti na mí loo. Sr3 wò yiwo katã liã, wo nana sesie loo. Ne woyi asia asi ne nyo na wo loo.

A, laka yiwo katã wona wò, wofo tawoe nye yiwo. Kpakpaxea fe tae yi, gbãa fe ta hãe nye yi; naxo wo katã kenken. Ne miewo dɔa mɔakpo ta ne loo. Elã fe no hãe nye yi naxo na 'fedoa kekeke. Vi dagbe loo!

A, etia kple nuɖuɖuawo katãe yi; meɖo wo anyi na wò naxo kple avaviawo kekeke. Afedoa katã srɔ wò wo katã nakpo wo dzi, wofo lãme nana sesie. Dɔwɔnu yiwo katã negblẽ dia, ye wo katã le mɔa sia - yevuɖo kple mɔafe agblewo katã - wò nuto nade kle mɔa megbe woana dedie mɔatsɔ akpo ɖevawo dzie. Agbe ayi loo!

44.

O! Avuwɔɔda memloa azilã wo ɔo dzi o. Eyi neɖu nua vo 'fia, ahae yi - tɔdzɔhae - aha sesie; naxo na avaviawo kple afedoa kenken. Dzɔɖaɖe hãe, liha yee. Ne exɔea, nanye dzɔɖiɖi ana afedoa kpata ta. Mi kata mɔa wo lãme nana sesie, kpedevi kliko, srɔ wò wo, vi wò wo, mi katã katã loo! Afedoa fe nu naxo. Nuyawo katã yevuawo gbo yim 'fia, yevuawo nase egome, woalẽ be na mi ameyibowo hã. Susu yi ke le tame na wo hafi wɔɔ Gaba ɖa 'fia, woadee tame na ameyibowo hã loo! Kpɔea! Ameto fe ɖea womefo ne wɔɔana o loo! Gbede! Ahae yi, etsi hãe nye yi loo!

Nade Yevuɖoɔ dzi mɔakplo; nade netiawo dzi wɔatse mɔana ɖuɖum loo! Enya nate ɖa, ahe nate ɖa; ɔo nate ɖa, ku nate ɖa; akoe dagbe vi dagbe na va loo! Aleya mɔena wɔa wò hã nana mi nenema nyagãa.

45.

'Mevɔwo to, 'mevɔwo to, 'mevɔwo to mɔato fie miaa. O! danye, Fiadzewo, meɔ wò yetɔ ya kekeke. Nyameɔ wò ɖe afia me o dagbe dzie meɔ wò ɔo. A, meɖi gbea ɖeke o. Nyatefe, ana abe nkeke etɔe ya ene meke 'faa ɖe; 'ye wɔva hã be mayi ayakpe wò. Eya neva di tso asinye be maɖa aboɖa na ye. Aboɖa lee nye yi meɖa tso ve, naxo kekeke atso adzo nye kple srɔnyewo kple vinyewo kple vi wò Ameblenya kple viawo kpakple wò mamayoviwo katã nu kekeke. Wò nuto nanye dzɔɖiɖi adzo mi katã kele vɔ zã vɔ. E, ne mɔele agbea mɔana ewom na wò alea ɖaa. Etsie yi xom nana; ne woɖu nu vɔa, etsie wonona. A, ahae yi, aha ya ketowo tɔe. Ameyiwo ke be Fiadzewo viwo kple wo mamayoviwo megana oa, nedze woawo nutowo dzi, woayi eve etɔ loo! Agbe ayi loo!

II.

RITUAL RECITALS CONNECTED WITH THE DEITIES

46.

O! Kla kɔkɔ wɔ atike uevito, nu nɔ ke me dze ke. Egbe Memliɔdagbe ya, mie mia ɔiɔi ge miale tsi na mi. A, mie mia ɔiɔi ge ɔe ku dzi o; miele ge na mi ɔe do dzi o. Nunyonamea, ɔagbe, akoe ɔagbe, vi ɔagbe. Kpɔea! ameyiwo mekpɔna ɔuna oa, woakpɔ ɔu, ameyiwo mekpɔna tana oa woakpɔ ata. Eɔa tsi ya mie kɔkɔ ge ɔi 'fia ameyiwo nye ameyikuawoa woawoe miekɔ ge ɔi na. Ne miekɔe ɔia, woaxɔe na mi, wo alo na va mia me, miane ewom tegbe tegbe. Ameyiwo mewɔe oa, dzɔɔiɔia na ge ɔe wo me, woawo hã woawɔe.

Mie mia ɔiɔi ge etsia miele ge na mi. Kpɔea! aleyi miawo hã miakpɔ miane ɔuɔum ɔaa, yatae mieɔa mi ɔdi ya. Etsie yi, minoe, fafa na va loo! Ahae yi, aha ya ketowo tɔe, tsie nye fafa. ɔagbe! Kpɔea! Klasia hã, medzea mɔ klia afo vɔe o; afo ɔagbe wɔklina. Nunyonamea netso xexe wɔava ge ɔe xɔ me na mi loo!

47.

O! miato amevɔwo tɔe nye yi, miatoe nye fie, fie via fie wɔdena. Bluawoe menye. Mia Togbui nkɔe nye Agbota tso Nogo. Wo Bluawoa kɔ nyinyia ɔe le wo si yi nye Klalili. Ne wova kla le ge ne fe ta trɔa, wofoa tsi ɔi eɔiɔi na lea tsi ne. Ne mieva nua wo gea, miedia fudzikliko, akutsawoe atikevevi, kakla, hɔfatsa, eblo, ye, ami uevi tsona wɔa komu lae. Ne enye Agbota wo dzidzimevi, Eklɔ Boso wo dzidzimevi, enuma wo ge woala na wɔ, hafi wɔ hã nanye 'gbeto ano xexea me.

Egbe Memliɔdagbe ya, mie dzidzimeia mie konyinyi ya wo ge ɔe mia togbui Dɔke, wo nkɔ me; miewo ge ɔe mia togbui Eklɔ Boso wo nkɔ me, miewo ge ɔe mia togbui Agbota wo nkɔ me wɔadze fia wo to adze ga wo to. Dzidzimeviawo katã woano sesie. Ne amea ɔe yi asia, asi ne nyo na; ne amea ɔe yi agblea, agble ne nyo na. Ne amea ɔe le yevu gbonua, yevu natsɔ nu akee fafa nava loo! Etsie yi loo!

48.

O! Kla kɔkɔ! Atike-uevito, nu nɔ ke me dze ke. Ne wole tsi nu ɔu gea, ahae wonona gbã. Nuɔuhae nye yi; miafe asi-klo tsie nye yi miklo asi. Egbea mie nuɔuɔu na ge mi. Kpɔea! Ne fe trɔa, dzae wowuna. Mia wo dza nuɔuɔu nye yi. Kpɔea! ɔagbe dim miele, nunyonamea. Aleya miewom na mia, miawo ha miawɔe na mi nenema. Miawo mɔnya naneke o. Ele miawo ɔuto mia gbo. Miawo ya ɔagbe kɔ dim miele. Etee nye yi; molue yi, kokoe yi, azie yi, mi katãkatã. Aleya mietsɔe kpɔ tom ɔe mia ɔua, miawo hã mia tɔe ɔe mia ɔu nyagãa. Aleyi miakpɔ aɔua, miakpɔ ataa, miakpɔ adzia, yatae mieɔa mi alea. Eɔa, aɔiya miekɔ akoea le do hafi dza wum na mia, miawo hã mia dii aɔo teje na mi miatsɔ ayi na

fetowo loo! Ne menye nenem oa, kpɔea! mɪawo mɪenya
deke o hee. Dagbe nava, agbe nadze wo loo!

Etsie nye yi; ne woɖu nu vɔa, tsie wonona. Ahae yi;
aha ya ketowo tɔe. Me de mɪe mia nam miano o. Ketowo
nam mɪele. Miamui de wo ɲu kekeke loo! Klasɪ meklia
afɔ vɛe o. Ne ekliɪ, ne zu afɔ nyuie loo!

49.

O! srɔnye deɖia! Mama nudzie mevɔna nyɔnu wo tsilefe o.
Akplɔ bo zu bo. Zu maɖo akplɔ nu dana o. To gɔwo nu mado
abla ɖo. Aha dzodzo makpe na viwo nɔ. De ko nu De nyrana.
Atsiafu tsi mano maku kpe navi. Vi nu makemake. Etsɔe
tso ame kple ga. Afedo afedoawo gbɔto. O! srɔnye, meyo
wɔ kekeke. A, meɖi gbea deke o. Egbe asinyui gbe forlɔi
ya, mefo mafo tsi ɖi na wɔ. Eklɔawo nasɔ; kosiawo nasɔ;
dzatuawo nasɔ. Toxɔdua, agba ta blaetɔ vɔ adea, wo katã
nana sesie. Medi abɔka sesie, adrika sesie na amesiame loo!
Etsi lee nye yi. Natsɪ dzogbɔgbowo katã nu fafa nava kekeke
loo!

50.

O! srɔnye deɖia! Mama nu dzie mevɔna nyɔnu wo tsilefe o.
Akplɔ bo, zu bo. Atsiafu tsi mano maku kpe na vi Xɔnye
amesiviwo nɔ. Meklã mi. Amee nye yi le klo dzi to Kofi
Gaba tso Keta. Ebe nyatefee wode ye Suku 'ye mi
togbe-mawuawo mɛvu tagbo na ye woɖo ye de Ablɔtsi. A,
ablɔtsi ya yeyia hã, nu ya srɔ ge yeyia va hia bena yewo de
wo dekonu yiwo lia hã, ye ne tsa yeasrɔ wo katã, hafi
yewo ɖo nayi dzi. Eya eva gbonye afiɪa. Etsɔ aha gãa
de atukpa deka, tɔdzihae hee; dza gaa deɛ nye yi bo de
ahaa ɲu wɔbe matsɔ na wɔ natsɔ ayi Mawu-ɖoɖame-ɖa fee
maɖimaɖiawo natsɪ afima dzi, ɖiɖiawo na va na ye kekeke.
Azo gbe ya dom mele de eta fifia, ɛ, abɔka nasẽ ne, adrika
nasẽ ne kekeke. Azo nuyi wɔbia tso asi nyea, egbe
asinyuigbe ya megbɔm ne be nyatefe asewo katã. Me gbe do
ge ɖa de eta wɔana sesie woaga gbugbo aɖoe de ɖo bubu me.
Ne ewɔe ne kple mɪawo hã alea, O! mama! De vɔnu metoa
gbe o. Mɪawo hã miano xaam feyi feyi loo!

51.

O! Mama nudzie mevɔna nyɔnu wo tsilefe o. Megale klo dzi
yɔm ake. Aha ya Kofie tso vɔa aha tae; meko ge ɖi. Meko
ge de togbeawo ɲko me. Natsɪ nya dzo; natsɪ ahe dzo; natsɪ
ɖo dzo; natsɪ ku dzo Kofi ɲu kple mɪawo hã kenken loo!
Abɔka nasẽ ne, adrika nasẽ ne. Ne woyɔ dukɔwoa, wo ne yɔ
Aɲlɔwo hã, Aɲlɔ Kotsieko! nateti deka na dzo me bi nu. Fafa
nava kekeke.

52.

Amevɔwo tɔe yi; amevɔwo tɔe yi; amevɔwo tɔeyi. Ne agua

dzea, wòadze ò wo amefialawo dzi. Miato fie, fievia fie wòdena. O! Tagbui Gbe! Gbe sia gbe, gbe yaka o. Gbea ò do xoxo da kláwo be ò me. Meyo wò òa. Dzo rúa ke. Anlótowo Anlót dzram ò; Ewetowo Eve dzram ò. Ewòe nye vu-tre-go-òíà. Egbea, wò kluawo dzatuawo, Kosiawo fèdoà katà woxa wò. Agbe tsie yi naxo. Míedí abòka, adrika, lāmesesie. Dzovuvu yiwo keŋ le mia dzia, naðe wo òa míadzi. Uedzino na dza. Ne agble-kodzito tso agblekodzia, agble kodzi nakpo gbe ne tsetsea na wu ama. Á, xadza-vuvu-to tso xadzaa, xadza vuvu natsò nu akpa atsòe yo. Egbea míedídiem be míado dódòe na wò loo! Wò há nadoe na mí loo! Agbe tsi lee yi naxo.

53.

1. Amevòwo tse yi, ne agua dzea wòadze ò wo dzi. Míatse nye fie; fie-via fie wò dena. Kukutawo mefia agbeze mí hee.....Yoo! Tagbasíawo mefia agbeze mí hee.....Yoo! Ekluawo mefia agbeze mí hee.....Yoo! Dzatúawo mefia agbeze mí hee.....Yoo! Èðe, eve, etó, ene, ató, ade, adre.
2. Kpòea! Amevòwo to; ne agua dzea wòadze ò wodzi. Kpòea! fie nye míà to. Kukutawo mefia agbesie mí hee.....Yoo! Tagbasíawo mefia agbesie mí hee.....Yoo! Ekluawo mefia agbesie mí hee.....Yoo! Dzatúawo mefia agbesie mí hee.....Yoo! Èðe, eve, etó, ene, ató, ade, adre.
3. 'Mevòwo tse yi; ne aguadzea, wòadze ò wo dzi. Míato fie fievia fie wòdena. Kukutawo mefià agbezie mí hee.....Yoo! Tagbasíawo mefià agbezie mí hee.....Yoo! Ekluawo mefià agbezie mí hee.....Yoo! Dzatúawo, mefia agbezie mí hee.....Yoo! Èðe, eve, etó, ene, ató, ade, adre.

54.

O! Tagbui Avada meyo wò òa. Fè tro, 'ye wò kluawo, kosiawo dzatuawo afèdoà kata kata woso. Wobe totowo to dzram ò; gotowo go dzram ò. Bluawo há wo de dzram ò. Eya yewo kpo tsi kple amikpe, etsò tódziha bena woàðe vuvu nùti na wò. Ekluawo nasò; dzatuawo nasò. Wobe eyi yewo le nuwo fia, agbeno didia ya dzimee yewo le. Ne amea ò do asigba yi asia, asi nenyò nà. Ameyi yi agblea, agble ne nyo nà, tsetsea na wu ama. Nalé yewo sesie, yewoano nu wò ano nu wò bum feyifeyi. Viwò yiwo katà le gbea dzia, le Suku le yevudo mea, kpòea! yevu nùe ke! Yevu kutsa, woalee wòàdi nùti nawo loo. Sukudelawo wo tagbo na vu òe Sukua nùti. Evòe ne ketòe òe abu vó òe vi wò - kluawo, dzatuawo - nùtia há, yewoà, yo wò me ko yewo le loo.

Amea deke menoe nyi yome ka dens o loo. Wo toto tom yewo le; wò gogo gom yewo le. Etsi lee yi. Wobe de yewo doe agbanae, nađi ađo teje na yewo loo. Ne yewo yi tofoa, wɔafa na yewo miamiamia. Anlɔvi mekpɔa togame o totae wòkpona. Fafae yi naxɔ. Uedzino nava dza, go na nyo, to na nyo loo. Enu yawo wom nele na mia akpe, akpe, akpe, nagayi dzi wu ya loo.

55.

To kple amikpea, wobe alo evea yee yi, yewo mena wò alo deke o. 'Yata na yewo hã ne yewo nu lé gea yewoalee alo eve loo! Yewo nalee wɔafa de alo me na yewo kekeke loo! Ne ewo eya na yewoa, yeawoano nu wò feyifeyi loo! Wobe lãme vevia so gbɔ; wò nuto nali asi lã me na yewo, yewo lã me na bobo miamia. Kpɔea dzogbɔgbowo so gbɔ xexea me akpa! Yo wò me ko yewo le loo!

56.

Tɔgbui na lém sesie. Do ya medze 'fia, aleya ne lém megafɔ, ele nɔti wɔa, na lém wɔade fis nam kple vinyewo kenken desiaɔe kple mamayoviwo hã. Mele kuku dem na wò de nya ya me. Elém sesie mefo; nyemedo nu de dokuinye nu o, gake ne lém alea, enyo nam. Nalé vinyewo hã, wɔawoe gakpe de nɔtinye hafi megava do xexe ya me. Meda akpe na wò loo.

57.

O! Tɔgbui! afedoa kata, ekluawo, kosiawo dzatuawo, woso be yewodi linu de nu na wò, wò hã nadii nade nu na yewo. Ne yewo yi agblea, agble nanyo; yewo yi tofoa tofo na nyo loo. Ameyi yi asia, asi na nyo ne. Nalé yewo sesie ne yewoano nu wò bum feyi feyi loo. Denua womewone xlena o. Agbe didi loo!

58.

A, Tɔgbui! tɔdzihae yi. Wobe yewo tsom na wò natsɔ dzo yewo kele vɔ zã vɔ me. Aziviwo katã woano sesie loo! Kudzo natsi dɔdzo na tsi, nya dzo natsi yewo nu kenkenken. Dzo ya wokpe na wɔa, dzoɔaɔe lee yi. Afedoa be yewo tsom na wò, Denua womewone xlena o loo. Yewoano ewom feyifeyi loo. Uedzino nava dza, yewoayɔ ako be ako loo!

59.

Kukutawo meklã mi. Tagbasiawo meklã mi. Kluawo mekla mi. Dzatuwawo meklã mi.

O! Tɔgbui Avada! Dzo nua ke, Anlɔtowo Anlo dzram do, Ewetowo hã wo Eve dzram do. Tɔgbui Avada wo dzonuvia, edi fiasawo, edi kuku-tawo, edi tagbasiawo, edi dzatuawo,

edi kluawo. Ebe woatutu 'me na Togbui Avada. Miletutui na; mietso to kple amikpe, ne be wɔaxo yi de Mawu-do-amedɔ gbɔe; wɔatsɔ maɖimaɖiawo da de Mawu-do-ame-da gbɔe; wɔatsɔ didia gbɔe namí. Dutsuawo be ne yewo yi agblea, agblekodzi nakpo gbe tsetsea na wu ama, hoto nafle na yewo. A, gutsuawo ke be Anlovi mekpɔa togome o totae wɔkpɔna. Ne yewo yi tɔdzia xadza vuvu natsɔ nu tɔfe va go, hoto naflee na yewo. Mí nyɔnuawo míebe ne míeyi asia, asigbame nako na mí. E ne míenyi lávia, lávi natsɔ agbe na mí, hoto nafle wɔanye kɔba ano gonu na mí. Eya dim míele. Ne eyi asi nanyi fe, ne eyi asi nanyi fea, menyo o. Togbea naxo eya na mi wɔatsɔ ayii kekeke. V5 na yi v5wo de. E denue, womewɔns xlene o. Míano sesie ayo ako be ako loo! Dzo ya wokpe na wɔa, eta gɔglɔe yi naxo. E Evedzino nedza, zã kple kele nake di. Egbea, eya newɔa ewɔe wo do gake eya meso gbo o loo! E, Uu-tre-go-didiawo de uu; mo dzi na ko loo. Agbe.

60.

Togbe! Afo evea nye yi. Woge yewo menaa ge afo deke o, evea yee yewo naa wde. Uedzino nava dza. Zã kple keli nake di. Yewoano sesie ayo ako be ako loo!

61.

Kukutawo mikpo asi. Tagbasiawo mikpo asi! Kluawo mikpo asi. Dzatuaowo mikpo asi! Dzonua ke hee. Anl⁵toowo Anl⁵ dzram do, Eveawo Eve dzram do. Amegā Avada wo dzomuvia, edi fiasiawo, edi dzatuaowo, edi Kluawo, edi Tagbasiawo be woado dodoe na Togbea. Mfiedo dodoe na vo, etsa to kple amikpe na be wɔxɔ yi Mawu-do-ame-da gbɔe, wɔatsɔ maɖimaɖia yi atso ɖiɖia gbɔe ve na mf. Dutsuawo be ne yewo yi agblea, agble kodzi nakpo gbe tsetsea na wu ama, yewoatsɔ va afee hoto naxɔ na yewo loo. Dutsuawo ke be ne yewo yi tofoa tofe ne nyo na yewo; yewoatsɔ xadzavuvui ayi togbɔe, wɔatsɔ nu yewoatsɔ va afee. Ne yewo tso ɖɔkavuvui yi tofea ɖɔkavuvui nakpo nu tso va afe me na yewo. Nyɔnuawo be ne yewo yi asia, asigba me neko na yewo. Yewoanyi lāvi wɔatsi agbe hoto nafle. Azo la, denue womewone xle na o. Yewoano sesie ayo ako be ako. Eyi kukutawo so, Tagbasiawo so, fiasiawo so, kluawo so, dzatuaowo so alea, agbe dzimee mifele loo! Agbe lee nye yi loo! Akufia, Akufia! Akufia!

62.

Kukutawo mikpo asi. Tagbasiawo mikpo asi. Kluawo mikpo
asi. Dzonua ke hee. Anl5wo Anl5 dzram do. Eveawo Eve
dzram do. Amegã Avada wo dzonuvia, edi fiasiwo, edi
kluwo, edi tagbasiwo bene woado dodoe ne Togbea. Mfiedo
dodoea ne, wobe nexo to kple amikpe wòatsɔ yi Mawu-do-ame-da

gbœ, wòatsò maḡimaḡia ada ḡi wòatsò ḡiḡia agbœ na yewo. Yewoe nye uu-tre-go-ḡiḡia; yewo dze mɔ. Yewoano sesie, yewoayo ako be ako. Ne Tagbea yewo lém nenema, yewo-wo ḡo ḡoa nyoa, ɛ, denue womewona fe ḡeka o. Yewoano ewom feyifeyi. Uedzina neva dza zā kple keli nake ḡi. Ey Tagbasiawo so, kukutawo so, dzatuawo so, kluawo so alea, agbe dimee miele loo! Agbe lee yi loo! Aku-fia! Aku-fia! Aku-fia!

63.

Vizaze mefaa nublanui vi o. A, ame abe Naki ene, etsɔ nanewo va nanewo wo ge. Nuyiwo woge wòvaa, agbedzido nafo xlae; asidagbe nafoxlae. Nuyiwo kata kplœ ḡo hafi wògbona ḡe afiya, nuawo katā natro eyome loo!

64.

Nye Naki koe dzo ḡe agbe ya me, ḡo léamewo kplom ḡo. Nyemenya aleke woge mala o. Efe metrona mesēna gbea ḡeke gbe o. Danye kple fofonye woyi ḡe xalaxalatowo gbo; wobe nye madi dzinuku sogbe, madi hotsui, madi ye, madi aha, madi koklo, madi tsifafa, woatsò na hawo kple kplomedoḡoeawo ne ḡo ya le dzinyea ḡoa natro. Fifia Suku ŋue ke 'ye wodem suku. Ne wofia num hā metona ḡe tame nam o; wobe hawoe 'ye meva Vizaze gbo afiya. Nuyiwo katā kplom ḡoa, woatro yonye me. Ne meyi sukua nu yi woafia ma, wòato ḡe tame nam. Nue le ḡo.

65.

O! Vizaze mefaa nublanui vi o. Anea ḡe be ye ŋko to Naki. Ebe yedzo ḡe agbe ya me ne yelē ati ḡeko wogena yesi. Ne yele ka metona ḡe ye si o. Eyi yedzo ḡe agbe ya mea, fu ko kpem yele, ḡoléamea koe kplɔye ḡo. Eya wobe hawo kple kplomedoḡoeawoe. Eva nua xe ge egbea. Ne exee koa hawo kple kplomedoḡoeawo katā nadzo, nɔfe nafa nawo, wòafa na ye hā loo! Enya yi Naki bena magblo na wò Vizazea nye kem. Na see ne tututu loo!

66.

Asimatenu viwo nɔ Agbe gidi, akoe gidi, asi gidi. Anea ḡe ŋko to Naki. Ebe nyatefee, hawo kple kplomedoḡoeawo koe kplɔ ye ḡo. Eya, ye hotsui ya tsom na wò natsò na wo ne woadzo yi wo nɔfe, nɔfe nafa na wo wòafa na ye hā. Woadzo kodzogbe hotsui ade alome na ye hā kodzogbe na fa na ye hā. Xom, natsœ na dzasimadzenuwo keŋ ne nuyiwo katā yeawoa eye ko yeaxo nua me loo.

67.

Asimatenu! Ame abe Naki enea, ebe gbe yiwo katā yedɔ na

wò bena natsò yi yewo Se gbòá, naxò ahavivi ya natsò
yi ne ne agbe me nafa na ye nanaana. Aha tae yi
naxòe ayi na yewo Se kekeke loo!

68.

Logo Azago, medzona dīna kuna dī o. Atia ðeke mexòá
keklē hafi dea asi na Logo Azago o. Ati tsu dzòtsu
mekpòá Logo Azago gòme o. Logo Azago be yekpò yewo
tò atigā atigāwo gò me. Anea ðe be ye nko tò Naki. Ebe
ahae yi yetso na wòm be nuyiwo katā kplo ye ðoa woatrò
kenken. Nuyiwo tròsiwo gblā womedana dzi o. Agame ku
ðe vu dzia, woyò vu woyò agama.

69.

Mekplo ku, mekplo ðò, mekplo ahe, mekplo nya mekplo
dzasimadzenuwo kenken. Nye Naki nye agbe ne didi ðe
ngo nam legbee. Nye Naki nye agbe nade fie nam.

70.

Kpe melea ðò woxaa nu o. Manye kpe manò afea me na wò
kpò. Ne anea ðe anò afia ðe aḡu atadi kple dze anò eḡi-ḡu
dom na nye Nakia ne efo ḡdi kanya kli ke fifia ne ḡe
klukluklu. Nana ketowo dzi nam; ḡutsu ketowo, nyomu
ketowo. Meganò fofonye dzi o, meganò danye dzi o, meganò
novinyea ðeke dzi o; meganò ta dzi nam o. Nana nye susu
na vu nyuie.

71.

Kuka, ðoka, nyaka metsoe na wò. Naki tso ðò na kpesiakpe.
Kuka, ðoka, nyaka, metsoe na Legba Azibosu. Mekplo ku
na wò, mekplo ðò na wo, mekplo ahe na wò mekplo nya na wò,
mekplo nuḡwo na wò. Dzasimadzenui yawo kplo wò ðoa
mekplo wo na wò kenken loo!

72.

Naki be ðò yawo katā kplo ye ðoa Amegā Kpesiakpe gbo ya
yeva 'fia, ne ðe vu yeye lāme na ye. Kpòea! Naki vu
ya le lāme na wò netsona nòá ðò léma, egbea kpe-siakpe
ðe vu yeye lāme na wo hee. Wòalé wo sesie.

73.

Zòzò nawo, nugbedeawo gbo.
Miva ðò zòzò na wo.
Kpesiakpe amedzro dze wò;
Dzadza, amedzro dze wò ko.

74. .

Legba Agbo! Lāka yi Naki tso vɛa lāka lee yi naxo. Naki be nade ye agbedzido me asidagbe wo do me, akoe dagbe wo do me. Nuyiwo katā kplɔ ye doa, nuawo katā natro ye yome loo!

75.

Amevɔwo to, amevɔwo to, amevɔwo to; miato fie mia. Naki melɛ wò asi de tsi me egbea. Nuyiwo katā kplɔ wò doa nuawo katā natro yo wò me loo.

76.

Nuyiwo katā kplowò doa, egbea, eva Vizaze gbo, eva kpesiakpe gbo, woklo ade dzi na wò kenken. Gbetsi vɔ yiwo kplɔ wò doa tso egbea dzia woklo ade dzi na wò. Mawu Segbo Lisa koe ana ye wò kenken. Do ade de gota xo yea. Kpɔea! Mawu Segbo Lisa na ye wo hee. Dzagbevɔe yiwo katā kplowo doa wo katā wotro egbea kenken.

77.

Naki be lā wo ta menɔa nyi tso ame wo ta gayina o hee. Egbea metsɔ koklo ta do li efe tae loo. Yewo ta nana ta nu ne loo!

78.

Kpesiakpe lāka yi Naki va na wò, ekpo mumua, bibia yee nye yi naxo kekeke loo. Eyiae yi. Ameyiwo dune dziea woawo ha tse yi.

79.

Asitenu amea de nko to Naki. Ebe ne yekpo ye mo koa, yewo ta na vuvum ye nu. Ne yekpo 'gbetɔwo ko ehawo ko yewo dzi na tsotsom. Ne yedo afo anyigba dzia anyigba na vuvum ye te. Tso egbea dzia ne ekpo ye moa, maneke nagadzi voe o. Ne edo afo anyia wò afo deko wòasɛ de anyigbā sesie. Aboka nasɛ ne; adrika nasɛ ne loo. A, ami veui ya Naki vaye gbo wò, etsɔ eya etefe dom na wò loo. Nu nyui yawo ken wòva wo na wò nana yayra nava eme ne loo.

80.

Madze klo na nya o; madze klo na ahe o; madze klo na do o; madze klo na ku o. Amegā Adudu ko nadze klo na. Ngo wò ne fa, godowo ne fa; nevu dzoa nefa miamiamia na wò hee.

81.

O! amevõwo tõe yi, fie wo amee menye. Agua dze nedze de Ketowo dzi. Fievia fie wõdena. Ahedo meklã wò òa. Amu meklã wò. O! Dzifo meklã wò, meklã srõa Anyigba. Mawu Kitikata, Aqaruwto gã wò asi wò afo meklã wò kekeke. O! srõnye deqia Auleto, Auleno, Kpodzi, Awlosu, Atikpa, Alu, Golo, Blu, Venaga, Venatsu, Togbosu Zu legbede be yetu nu. Mama meklã wò òa, Dutokonyia, Mama Fungo, meklã wò. Mama Avu meklã wò. Ame na asi vi ko menye. Fiawo, gawo, avanu etõa, avanu adrea, miawo fafa. Võ nayi võ wo de, fafa na va agu toa mea. Klu naso Kosi naso. Agbeto nase nyanyuie; agbe nku nakpo nu nyuie, lãmesese nava. 'Gbetõ mefua xõ dzo o yedzoe wõfuna. Fiakluawo dzatuawo dzegbe, gbe na ku na wo woafõ axõ gbe nu. Ne asi wu dokua afee wotsõsõ vë, agbe wu doklã afetõ. Madzimadziawo nadzi, dzidziawo na dzi afu dzi. Agbledela lãmesesie. Ne etsõ kodzia, kodzi nakpo gbe tsetse na wu ama nã. Todala uu nekpo lãtsi wõade ta me. Kle netsõ nu to wõatsõ va goe maqumaqua nã to duqua nava go nyagãa. Ne enyo na adelã adesi naqu akõta.

Asitsalawo la nu nebe de agba me na wo. Fiakluviwo, dzatuviwo yiwo dze gbe la, gbe naku na wo woafõ axõ gbe nuti. Lãmesesẽ na va loo! Miegbe võ. To nutsuvi, to nyõnuvi, yee to dea ahe gbe na. Fenyi fenyie, denua womewõsõ xlenã o. Fiegbea gõmea nã sesie.

Ameyiwo le yevugbonua, yevu nelõwo, woada fetu de fetu dzi na wo. Aye nã aye me na wo, aqaru na kpe aqaru nawo. Biglawo Kabitawo katã aqaru nakpe aqaru na wo. Agbledelawo la agble kodzi na kpo gbe na wo tsetsea nawu ama loo! Asitsalawo nu na be de asigba me hee. Ne ewu nua yee wõgbana de ge me loo!

A etsie yi mixõ na fiegbea gõmee la; lãmesese na va! Nunyonamea!

82.

Botowo-wu-to! Akpasetowo-wuto Adzetowo-wuto! Dzo tsi la aklã nu aklã fana; Amegã Aduqu meyo wò zi gbo zi etõ Medj egbea deke o, Amea de nko to Kobla zi gbo zi etõ. Ebe ye hã nutsu ye nye dzo de agbe ya me wõle bena ye hã yeade nyõnu. Nyõnuvi ya wò kpõa, enkõe nye Afi. Nyatefe ebe ye nyaa gblõm nea, deko wõdeã yewo gbe nã dadam. Yebu tame kpo uu kekeke 'yee yeva wò Amegã Aduqu dõm be nawõ na ye. Ne nyõnuvia, gbõgbõ yi tututu kplõe dõ hafia, gbõgbõ nadze kõ anyi, nya ya gblõm yele nea, wõasee anye nyõnu yeade de xõ nu wõado dzo na ye. Ne ewõ na ye tututua akpedada le megbe yeava da na wò loo. A, Amegã Aduqu, Akpa ya nebe yeaxõ Kobla sia, yee nye yi. Dzini 'tukpa deka amidze 'tukpa deka, deha go deka, kple ga siliq ene kple penigã bõ de nu loo! Naxõ ne na wo dõa

ne kekeke loo! Ameyibo 'gbeto kple vodu metsoa gbe
Vodu tsia gbefe me o hee.

83.

O! Amegã Aduḍu, enue le do. Míawoe le agbea me, agbea me gblẽ mi, 'ye míeva se Amegã Aduḍu nko wò, si wò tso hele agba me na wò. Ebe ne feta sua, woatɔ fe ta na wò koklo deka, ata evi, kple ga siliṇ ene peniga, dzini atukpa deka kpakple amidze atukpa deka. Nye, Charles Setsoafia, mekpɔ kokloa kple nuawo ken etso ve na wò feta tɔm na wò bena hã, wò Amegã Aduḍua hã, nahe agbeka nam. Mawo do doo nanyo. Fe ya mea, Sabala gblẽm akpa. Ne fe yi tɔtɔ gea, Sabala nenyɔ. 'Yatae meva si wò tso do. Srɔ negã nam, vi negã nam; mawo do makpɔ ta ne loo! Mía kple srɔnyewo wo gbe nadze gbe dzi na mí de Amegã Aduḍu wò nko me loo, ne mayo wò Amegã Aduḍu be vodu. Meto. Nue le do.

84.

O! Boto - Akpaseto - wuto, Amegã Aduḍu! Viwoe míenye míede me kpɔ, kpɔ mu; míede me adido, deko wòho kple ke; míede me gli deko míedo de gli godo. Míese nko wò wobe toe nenyɔ 'ye míeva si wò tso. Anea de nko to Tome zigbozi etɔ. Ebe yehã ye va si wò tso. Yele agbea me yemekpɔ asie de o, yemekpɔ vi edzi o; dɔwɔnaa deke hã menyona na ye o. Ke eyi yeva do wò Amegã Aduḍu gbɔ wò, edo ko na ye be ne bli do afea, woawu bli-dza na ye; ne te do bo dzia woagawu te-dza na ye. Ne fe trɔa woatɔ fe ta na ye. Nyatefe ye kpɔ nuawo kata tso ve. Yekpɔ koklo ku atɔe deka, ami atukpa deka dzini deka kple ga siliṇ ene peniga be woaxo na wò, Amegã Aduḍu, be nuyiwo katã kplo ye doo nuawo katã natɔ ye yo me. Fe ya me dze ge yea la fifia, yeakpɔ asi ade, akpɔ vi adzi, akpɔ do awo, do na nyo na ye loo. Enya yi Tome gblo nam bena magblo na wò yee nye kem. Amegã Aduḍu nase gbea.

85.

Tɔgbui Avanyevi, nue le do loo. A, Avanyevisi nase gbea. Nyitsɔ ya, meyi yiake 'faa de, 'ye Tɔgbui Avanyevi yi nye mía Tɔgbuiwo to tso Hogbea, yee be madzi aha kple tsifafa ne Avanyevisi nafo adee nam ne Tɔgbeawo na hem de te. Mekpɔ nuawo be natsɔe na Tɔgbui Avanyevia. Nuya dim melea yee nye lãmesesie. Dɔkplo-lae menye; wòayra de doo dzi. Ketso de do vɔ de nɔ nyea, Gu nekpee; Gu nekpee abe aleya wòle tɔgbeawo gbɔe ene tututu. Ne anea de do vɔ de mí Avanyevi-viwo nɔ koa, Gu nekpee godogodo. Yee metso va gbɔ wò. Ne ewo ya nam tututua, ne megbo tso Winneba mana koklo, wo kple ami nabo de enu woadã na wo nyagãa.

86.

O! Tɔgbui Avanyevi, meyo wò ndi ya kekeke. Wò fiaklu,

Azãgada, yee tso agbe-dza ya ve. Ebe xexea me koe fu dem na ye. Yeyi de bokowo gbo wò Togbui Avanyevia neva fo nu be ye nedi dza, aha kple tsifafa ne yeatsò na ye. Eya wò gogo gom yele, wò tótò tòm yele. Elabena nu ya ke gbea wò nu du ge yeala. Eya, yekpo nuawo tso ve na nye, wò xonuvia be maxò matsò na wò naxò atso ayi Mawu-dò-ame-dà gbœ nadi aboka adrika na ye. Azo dɔwɔfe yele; dɔwɔfe ya yelea, dɔa na nyo na ye. Ne dɔa nyo na ye tututu, ne yegbɔa, yeadi koklo, atsu kple asi, yeatso woadà na wo nyagãa ne naɖu. Dza ya wòtso vsee, mexœ wò Togbui naxò loo. Dze lee nye yi mexœ, naxœ na avaviawo kenken. Natsi kudzo wo nu; atsi dɔdzo wo nu loo. Elabe nuyiwo katã le agbe ya mea asi wò mee wotso. Ne amea de tso nu te anyi kli, wò nko mee. Dzo yi si ge mifele hã to wòe.

87.

Agoo! Togbe Nyigblã viwo medo agoo na mi, 'ye medo agoo na Nyigblãnu hã. Fetro; Eveawo Eve dzram dɔ. Anlɔwo Anlɔdzram dɔ. Togbe-Nyigblãnu kple Awɔamefia wote kesinwo dɔ wolo wuwluawo wote. O! Togbe Nyigblã, Tsrobi, yrobi, Kedi Amuɖi, egbea mifeva ave na wò. Kluawo nasɔ; kosiawo nasɔ loo. Anlɔvi mekpɔa togome o totae wò-kpona. Madzimadziawo na dzi. Mía vi yiwo srɔ yevu nunyaa, dagbe ne va na wo ne míaawo wò Togbe Nyigblã nue loo! Ahae yi, agbe dimee mifele, mife agbe dim loo! Akufia, Akufia, Akufia.

88.

Agoo, Togbe Nyigblã Tsrobi, Yrobi, Kedi, Amuɖi; Adeye le to me ka le alɔxatsa me ne. Meyowò kakaka, 'ye meyo Gbaku, meyo Dutokonyi, meyo Asimatonu-dzo-me; meyo Gboto-nya-mevea-sese o. Meyo mi kata katã - nye manya mi Anlɔ mawuawo katã axlɔ o. Etsɔa, Togbe Nyigblã! mifeve ave na wò. Egbee nye degbagbe, mifeva dea gbã ge. Kluawo nasɔ. Tɔdalawo, Agbledelawo, klakiwo, wo nu nasɔ kekeke. Míaawo ta nanye ta deka. Fiaɔnɔa du me du ha nɔa fia me loo! Adɔika nasɔ loo! Nyigblãnu yee gbe ya dom dɔ kple wo Ahakua loo!

89.

Agoo, xexea me mifele, Togbe Nyigblã yeefo trɔawo ta, Lɔafeawo Amladawo dzea mo agble-yleti adrea. Wowom vuu kekea, asiekea, Nyigblãnu dea ahali tsi; edea vu se wòfloa xlã dzetsia katã. Dzinu ewoa, yee wowɔa Nyigblãnu. Ne mifeve vu sea, dzinu deka kpe ne; wiɖekea koa, mifeve vu se 'ye dukɔa me kata fana - yevuawo gbo hã fana - 'ye wòfana abe tsi yi ke wokuna zo me nonaa ene. Mifeve wonawo gome; egbe asigbogbea, mifeve ati vo me na Togbe Nyigblã. Ne mifeve ati vo me nɔa, Keta si etɔa gbea

yee mfeḡea atia uḡa me. Fiaḡo, gaḡo, Aḡoamefia dia ḡu
wodana Aḡo wo uḡnu - ega gaḡina; evu gaḡina. Gbe ma gbe
koa, mfeḡaḡe ḡie dua ḡuti. Agbeno didi vana; maḡzimadzia-
wo kḡo ḡzidzi ḡzina; ameyiwo mekḡo ḡuḡum oa, wokḡo ḡuna.
Yevuvi yiwo le gbea ḡzia hā, ḡagbe vana na wo.

Gbea ḡe gbe, wowo Nyigblānua, yevua ḡe va afiya be
yeanya Tḡgbe Nyigblā fe. Eva kḡe 'ye wḡbe ame ya
ye ḡe agbagba ḡu uḡu kekea, wo ḡowḡe ko yekḡo aḡa me.
Amea le so ḡzi aḡu le ḡu, kuku le eta, tu le aḡo ne
wḡḡa le yewo aḡame le Agbelihoe. Yetre ma hā yemeḡi o.
Yeva nya efe afemea, ye ḡa akpe ḡāa ḡe ne.

Azo aḡanu etḡa, wo fiaḡo, Tamakloe, Antonio, kḡe
Aḡadada woawoe na nyi eto wowuna ne. Nyigblāa aḡawotrḡe
'ye yevuawo xḡe. Ke fifia womega be lēm ne o; tsi mīafom
ḡḡo mīaḡum. Za vḡ ḡo ḡe mi. Mīewo fe nu ya 'fia, ḡzidzi-
ḡua naḡze agbagba kakaka; mīetu xḡ ne mīegbā xḡ o. Nyigblā
zu ḡono xoxo, ameyiwo nu tsoa, yewo nḡyḡ wo hafi akḡo egbo.
Ne ele alea ḡukḡa gbagbam; e gbagbam wḡle, egbagbam
ḡudugudu 'ye mīe konyi fam. Aleya Nyigblā wḡa ḡe gbea ḡe
gbe koa, mītrḡ mīaḡze ka xoxoawo yome hafi mīagbe yeyea
loo! Akufia! Akufia! Akufia.

90.

Medo aḡoo na mi fiakluawo kata. O! Tḡgbe Nyigblā keḡi
Amuḡi Tsrobi Yrobi. Amea ḡe va ḡza na ge. Eva aḡbe
ḡi ge. Woyḡe be Afomegbetominua. Ebe yeana ḡza wḡ Tḡgbe
Nyigblā be wḡe wua zi gaḡua ḡā hā. Yata tsi ya nele
fifia, ebe yekḡo ḡza; yedi agbenono, yedi vidzidzi na
ḡukḡwo, yedi nuḡuḡu na ḡukḡwo. Ameyi mekḡo aḡo tana oa,
ameyi mekḡo kuku ḡona oa, nyonu yi mekḡo toḡe ḡona oa,
gbe yi dom ye, Afomegbetominua yeḡe ḡaa, enye kluawo
naḡo, kosiawo naḡo. Fiakluawo agbenono naḡe ḡḡo na wo.
Ve megagbe tsi na amea ḡeke o loo. Akufia, Akufia, Akufia.

91.

Tḡgbui, naḡasee. Ame labe Kwaku Tuḡoabo; ebe nyatefe wḡdzi
ye hā ḡe agbe ya me. Amewo le ye gbo yekḡlona yia nu
gbee wokḡo aḡo tana, kḡo aḡu ḡona, kḡo nu ḡuna. Uee
ya, yeva xḡ 'fa yeḡe 'fa kḡ. Afa kḡ ya ye lea, yegaḡo
agbedzidzi eme, ekḡo ḡagbe eme, kluawo sḡsḡm, kosiawo
sḡsḡm. Gake maḡzimadzia ḡe koe ye/me ḡom. Yewo ḡowḡ- L do
viaḡo, yema wo ḡe wo nḡfewo afiyi yekḡo wḡ Tḡgbe Nyigblā
le. Eyaa ve megagbe tsi na yewo ḡḡkḡlḡvia ḡeke gbeḡe-
gbeḡe o. Ameyiwo le ye Tuḡoabo wo ḡo mea - amewo le
fu ḡzi, amewo le mḡvu me - le gota kḡle to ḡzi, kaḡā
wo nenḡ ḡeḡie hee. Evḡa, yewo ḡo mawo kata, wḡ Tḡgbea wḡ
ḡḡo mee yewo wo ḡo. Yetḡe ke wḡ bena ameyi wḡea, ne eto
nyatefeḡa aḡo agbe; ameyi ka aḡatsoa aku - ke ḡe wḡfi ye.
Ye akpe ḡam na wo; gake ne woato gbo aḡe zikḡui ye tea,

konu helu le ko na wo. Ne vodu meléa ame o há, ye Tuḍoaboa, yedza yetsoṃ na wò. Togbe Nyigblā ga silin eve kple aha tukpa dekae nye yi wotsɔ ve be mado gbede de ye ta sese ne yena 'faa, dagbe nadze ye ko nu, woadze mi voduwo konu loo! Gbe yi wòḍoa yee nye yi. Ne nyemenya efofo oa, Togbe xoxoawo kata, woava foe de dzi loo! Agbe nu ne loo! Aboka nasẽ, adrika nasẽ. Dokplovawo woabobo ta ne. Agbe nedo dzi na wo. Tomelā nedzengɔ ɔa na Tuḍoabo. Dze lee yi; aha ya há wòna há yee yi. Ameyiwo noa eya, woava xɔe, Legba Agbo! nava kpo aha ya kekeke - Legba menoa aha o gake. Dze ya wowu fifia dagbe nadze afeme ne. To-dzo-lé-la abo mekune o. Ne abo ku wò koa to lé wò.

92.

Dza ya Tuḍoabo ɔo ɔa tso Akumasea, Dzevia hlāa katā kple Nyigblānua woda akpe ne loo! Aboka nasẽ ne; adrika nasẽ ne. Wo ɔo yiwo katā le gbea dzia woade lā duquawo kekeke loo! Agbenu ne! Agbe ɔo ne loo!

93.

Hunua! nasee wòade hunudua, agbasidua gbo be amea de nko to Lumovi. Ele agbea me vuu kekea eva de asi agba me na mi, Amegā Aduḍu gbo. Eya nyitsɔ ya eva fo ya, wòle be agbasidua hubono dua, miekpo koklo deka, aha atukpa deka, evi, ata, amidze, ewo, liha, mie efe asi dem ɔa mife agba to be mekpo mo wòagade asi agba me na mí azo o loo!

94.

Meklā wò Hodziedo, Hoḍota, Hoḍoxo, Dziṇkusi, ku Anyigba. Togbui ya wotsɔ Hogbe va le anyigba ya dzia, me wo klām. Mama yiwo kata kplɔ wo ɔo va ɔo dzo na woa me wo kata klām de afe fafa gbe fafa dzi. Mfawo koe dzo de agbe ya me, agbea katā vu dzo de mí. Miese Vodua de nko to Amegā Aduḍu mifeva sii tso. Eya edo ko na mi be, ne amea de ava si ye tso, wòle ye konua, ne eva dzo yi mawufea ele be woade yewo asi agba me. Woadi aviagba, tsifafa, liha, ata, evi, atadi, dze, wo kple amidze ne woade yewo asi agba me.

Azo ameya to Lumovia meva li o, 'ye miekpo nuyawo tso efe asi dem ɔa le agba me. Megakpo mo wòade asi mife agbaa deke me gbedegbede o. Mie agbaa tsom ne fifia koa, etoe ma wòaxo; kudzo natsi, dɔdzo natsi mia nu loo. Enya yi miegblɔa wòasee loo.

95.

Ame abe Lumovi ene egbea mife wò asi agba me. Manye-manye kple nyanyesawo, fugegeawo há, vi yiwo wodzi mfenya nko na wo o há, mie wo asi dem agba me. Deke mekpo mo agade

asi agbame kpili mĩ gbegbegbede o. Kokloa miato lee nye yi
miaxo kekeke.

96.

Ame labe Lumovi ene, laka ya mĩtso wò asi dem agba mea,
wo tae nye yi naxo; afotsiawoeyi naxo; ekoe nye yi,
ekoe nyeyi, aklae yi naxo wo kekeke. A, akple ya wođa de
nua rutia yee yi naxo. Ne wođu nua tsie wonona. Tsi
fafa yi naxo; dzodađe yi naxo kekeke loo! Lumovi, aha
ya mĩeno na, aha to wòe yi; towò xo fee ya naxo; megakpo
mo ade asi mĩafe ahanonoa deke me gbegbegbede o. Amie yi
to wòe naxo - ami ya mĩkata mĩede asi agba me duđa to
wòe yi naxo.

Lumovi, eyi neva de asi agba mea, etsò du kpe de ru
na Amegã Aduđu. Du to wòe yi naxo. Ku ya wu wò
mĩenyae o, wò ruto koe nyae.

Amatsi ya mĩedoa mĩtsoetsi dzo na wò loo. Mĩetsii
de ku dzi, mĩetsii de nya dzi, mĩetsii de do dzi, mĩetsii
de ahe dzi. Do megakpo mo ale mĩ o loo. Afe nafa na mĩ;
mĩeyi asia, asi nanyo na mi. Dolia deke, Lumovi, mĩekpo
mo ade asi mĩafe agba me gbegbegbede o. Metsi dzo na wò
afii. Agbe me na fa na mĩ, dagbe! Dagbe na wò hã. Kutome
nako na wò hã loo!

97.

Dzimaqokloe be tsi adza;
Tsia le fu me be yeadza;
Agbleatowo meva hađe o.
Agbleatse, Agbleato, Kuma, meva hađe o.
Atia de ke se,
Atia de ke se, wobe Agbe
Ago be yedo loo!
Ne yeađo ame me,
Ne yeađo ame me.

98.

Medzo loo! Medzo hee!
Aduđu Đađa, medzo loo!
Medzo Xebieso fe ati hee!
Aduđu Đađa medzo loo!

99.

Menye Se gbce wò tso o.
Huno Boglo be menye Segbce wotso o
Wò rutoe wce.
Ghlovie gagblẽ hua na mĩ
Ahasito gagblẽ hua na mĩ.
Yee gblẽ hua, na mĩ.

Hunowo 'hasivie gagblē hua.
Miku tsi nam ne mano
Sonowo ne miava koe miado agba.

100.

Se ka tututu dom de agbe ya me?
Medo nu me na anato.
Hubonowo miva li hu nam,
Ne vi nagā ne mano.
Se vŕe dom da?
Hunō Boglo Se vŕe dom da?
Ne mawo ale botowo nabe yewoe.
Ne medzi vi anawo naha adu
Aleke go mawo?
Se ka tutu dom de agbe ya me?

101.

Wò nutoe dze adze yo me,
Tso dokui wò he wu.
Menyae be agbame-vodua,
Amewulae o hā.

102.

'Gbasia va dze klo de vodua gbo,
'Gbame-vodua yo wò me ko mele.
Vodua neqi nam.
Ne meyi asia, asi nanyo nam.
Ne meyi agblea, agble nanyo nam.
Aduqu neqi nam.
'Gbame-vodua neqi nam.

103.

Mawo gbe; Aduqu, wò vonu mawo gbe o.
Mawo gbe; Agba, wò vonu mawo gbe o.
Mawo gbe; De vonu mawo gbe o.
Aduqu wò vonu mawo gbe o.

104.

'Afeku be mlekpō botowo na ye hā.
Afetoku wo agba lē dzo hunowo de hā.
Mlekpō Kodzi botowo nama?
Afetoku wo agba lē dzo hunowo de hā.

105.

Nukae netso ve hā.
Agbame-vodua wuna 'me kaba.
Sesē netso vea?

Agbame-vodua wuna 'me kaba.
 Dzokae netso vsa!
 Agbame-vodua wuna 'me kaba.
 Agba lē dzo, agba vu dzo gege
 Agbame-vodua wuna 'me kaba.

106.

Dzoquametowo yi Volome
 Anatowo yi Volome
 Botowo yi Volome
 Amenagblolawo yi Volome

107.

Agba melŋa nu gbegblē o.
 Wò rutse da agba dzi
 'ye agba wu wò loo!

108.

Amewo tsi agba dzi.
 Wobiae wògbe
 Vodua wo nya zu nyatefe

109.

Menye nyee wae o
 Wò rutse wae
 Medo kplanyaga!

APPENDIX BENGLISH TRANSLATION OF RECORDED RITUAL RECITALSRITUAL RECITALS CONNECTED WITH THE CULT OF THE DEAD

1.

Grandmother Asife, I invoke your presence this morning. I do not invoke your presence for evil: it is for abundant life that I call upon you. We want to remove dirt from your spouse today - today being Thursday. Here is water, receive it that peace may for ever abound. When we have done this, next time, not long from hence, we shall see to you also. This is what we have come to do now. Here is water receive it please. May everybody enjoy good health!

2.

Oh! Grandfather mosquito Larva never absent from water. Mighty stool! The great Sword which sets forth and peace is restored. The Eufeme clan has assembled in order to remove dirt from you. May you put out the fire of death! May you put out the fire of sickness, that peace may come and the whole clan united. Those who have not been having children may they get partners to marry and have children. He who is a farmer, when he goes to farm may there be enough grass for his hoe to weed that the fruits of his labour may be more than the leaves of the plant. He who is a fisherman whenever he goes to fish, may the inedible fish be far from him and the edible surround him plentifully that we may continue to gather around you from year to year. Please, exactly so must you yourself do it for us. If you do this for us and we continue to live, you will

ever come out into the streets - yes, come out into the streets amidst shouts of wonder from the onlookers. As the whole War company is here gathered today, if there is enmity between some of them, may they leave it at home and, united, we may discharge our sacred obligations sincerely towards you, in peace and concord, for your honour. Mosquito Larva never absent from water! The Great Sword which sets forth and peace is restored, please allow me to wash your back for you. May death be gone! May sickness be gone!

Quite recently we experienced a terrible trouble but it would never be, for us, a fire of misfortune. Once you our grandfather are there, you are a mountain against which we lean. That may be due not to the evil deeds of any human being . It seems that his days on earth are finished.

May we enjoy good health! May the whole clan be united. If any enemy-male or female- schemes for disunity among clan members, may the trouble come rather upon him.

Grandfather, mosquito Larva never absent from water, something great and terrible but simple (to you) happened quite recently. Some people wanted to use force to claim portions of your lands as theirs. Take away this trouble by all means. I know you very well. That is no mountain for you at all. It is mountains that you have been breaking down. Break this one also down.

3.

Those whose utterances do not please others, may their sayings

now please others. Those who are fishermen among us, when they go out with their nets, may they have good luck. If any one thinks evil thoughts about the net may his evil thoughts come upon himself. May we enjoy sound health that we may all continue to serve you. Then when you come out everyone shall be happy. Woman, man, grandchild, nephew and niece; may all of them be safe and sound. May everyone enjoy good health. We do not ask for evil. May peace and prosperity come upon us. May it come to rain so that our crops may grow, that by selling them, they may become money to enter our rooms. This will enable us to continue to honour you.

4.

May all your children away from home in the employment of the whiteman enjoy sound health. May they continue to prosper. May the whiteman forgive them their wrongs that we continue to honour you. Gathered as we are here today, their offerings are on the way coming - they never neglect this sacred duty. Therefore protect them all that the fire of evil does not burn any of them. May the whole public love them.

May all your grandchildren, nephews and nieces both at school and in the whiteman's employment enjoy good health; may the whiteman forgive them their wrongs. Fortune should not leave a man's room for a far country - please we are poor people. Rather fortune should travel from afar into a man's house. It is not good that those at home should always ask their

children working away from home for money before they should remit them. It is from a far place that fortune comes to enter a person's room. "Please my parents, take this and keep it for me. You may use it to get this and that done ready for me. Yes! This is the best way to stay with one's grandfather. If you do not do this, you shall for ever remain in dirt. You yourself have got to do it before you continue to be honoured. If you do this, today and tomorrow, and we continue to live, you will come out into the streets amidst shouts of admiration from the onlookers.

5.

Please may the whole clan hear it! Davu, please receive this message for the whole clan. We have provided one ram which the whole clan wants to be presented to the War company, to be slaughtered for the ancestors. We do not want misfortunes, but good health, strong and healthy arms and legs. In addition we have also provided some tubers of yam and fowls. Let the war company receive them and hand them over to the immolator to immolate to the ancestors on behalf of us all.

6.

Your attention again please! A man, Misiso by name, is our grandchild. He took his net to fish at the Accra beach. Before leaving he came before the ancestors, with a votive offering that if he succeeded in his venture, then he would offer the stool a ram and a fowl. Relying upon them, he went and succeeded.

Therefore he has brought a ram for us to receive and hand it over to the war company, who should, in turn, give it to the immolator to immolate for the ancestors on his behalf. Here also is the fowl.

7.

The things have come and I have received them and have handed them over to the whole clan to be presented to the war company. May the war company please receive them and hand them over to the immolator to immolate to the grandfather.

8.

O! Grandfather Mosquito Larva never absent from Water! Listen attentively please! This is the festival season. The Angloman is celebrating his throughout Angloland and the Eveman throughout Eveland. Thus, the Evifeme clan - your grandchildren - have assembled to remove dirt from you. After your bath they have presented some tubers of yam, one ram and some fowls through the war company to me, the immolator, to present to you Grandfather Lë, the Great Sword which sets out and peace is restored. Receive them please that the fires of death may forever stop to burn; that the fires of sickness may not continue to glow. But, instead, abundant life may always surround them all. If the farmer goes to farm, may there be grass enough for his hoe to weed that the fruits of his labour may be more than the leaves of the plant. If the fisherman goes out to fish, may the inedible fish be very far away from him and the edible surround him plentifully, so that we may continue to honour you from

year to year. He that has not been having children may he get a partner to marry and have children. It is human beings who make up a war company; it is human beings who surround a chief before his voice is heard far and wide. O! Grandfather! You are not a fence, neither are you a wall. It is a mountain that you are for us and against which we confidently lean. On my knees as I am now, I pray that I may do everything today strict according to the ancient custom of our forbears, which is well-pleasing in the sight of the ancestors, so that peace may for ever abound. The things have come and I have received them for you. Please, you also receive them for us. I am going to slice the 'head' of the yam; the ram I shall slaughter, all strictly according to the ancient custom of our forbears. May death for ever be gone! May sickness for ever be gone!

9.

I have sliced and given you the 'head' of the yam. Henceforth if you eat the yam, you will never die. It is only abundant life that it will always bring you.

10.

O! Grandfather Mosquito Larva never absent from water! The Great Sword that sets out and peace is restored! Mighty Stool! Powerful Grandfather! The Evifeme' clan says: If trouble seizes them, may trouble leave them alone. If sickness seizes them, may sickness leave them alone. If death seizes them, may death leave them alone. But if abundant life

should ever seize them, may abundant life seize them and cling to them very firmly forever.

11.

Grandfather Mosquito Larva never absent from Water! The Great Sword that sets out and peace is restored. Please it is abundant life that we want. May the fisherman be blessed by his net. May the farm of the farmer also bless him. If a trader goes out with her wares may the customers always flock on her. It is goodluck and life abundant that we want. Those who are in the employment of the whiteman, may the whiteman be kind to them that they may bring home a large fortune for us all to spend. Please we want all manner of evil to be removed from us all, and instead good health to all. You yourself have seen clearly how we have all surrounded you. Please may you bring us enough abundant life to go round all of us.

12.

O! For the wicked; ours is the West. All of you, attention please! Atopa! I call upon you. It is for abundant life that I invoke your presence. You came as a stranger to the ancestors You always boom your drum music just as you used to do in your original home. This is the festival season. The Aqlc people are celebrating theirs throughout Aqlcland and likewise the Eve people throughout Eveland. As such the Evifeme clan - grandchild nephew and niece - have all assembled to remove dirt from you. We have finished doing it. The whole clan - grandchild, nephew

and niece - have provided a ram and fowls which they gave to the 'Klɔɔ' war company to immolate to the ancestors. This I have also finished doing. A person like you 'Atopa' it is one white and one black fowl that you eat. This is the custom with you. Because of this the Ancestral stool shall not drink blood and you beg for a part from him. A stranger must be very well cared for. You are our stranger. Therefore we must be very hospitable to you. We, the whole clan, have received you with our both hands. We have given you one white and one black fowl. Please receive them as coming from the ancestors and then give out your correct drum music. If there is someone somewhere who says that as you have come to stay with the clan of chief Lɛ and to be forever with the stool, you must not give out your voice to be heard far and wide, please No! Never! This should not be. Please boom out your correct drum music as you used to do in your country of origin. As you come here, you are indeed a deity. It is a deity himself who chooses his spouse. Look around the whole clan - grandsons and nephews - and possess ~~two~~ of them that ~~they~~ may become your attendants for your voice to be heard far and wide. This is the message I have given you. Please the things have come and I have received them for you. May you also receive them for us.

13.

Davi! please pass on this message to the 'Klɔɔ' war company. We have finished bathing the Grandfather and have also just

finished immolating the sacrificial animals. We have provided now three bottles^{of} gin which the clan must give to the 'Klɔbɔ' war company in great appreciation of the part they played in the immolation ceremony.

14.

Working far from home, I was suddenly asked to go and serve in the Congo. I could not get time myself to come but I sent a votive offering through my elder brother to the Grandfather. As such he provided a firm support both behind and before me and I enjoyed good health till I returned. When it came to my notice that the Grandfather would be having a bath today, I have bought a piece of white cloth and a bottle of gin to present to him as my thank offering.

15.

Attention please! For sometime past now, I have not been well. So I made a vow that if Grandfather helped me to regain my normal health - together with my children - then I would offer him a tuber of yam and two bottles of soft drink. As the Grandfather has come out today, I have brought the things to him asking him again to provide a firm support both behind and before me and to protect my children also that we all may enjoy good health.

16.

The things have come and I have received them with both hands. I shall present them to the Ancestors.

17.

Grandfather Mosquito Larva never absent from Water!

Mighty Stool! Powerful Grandfather! The Great Sword that sets out and peace is restored! I invoke your presence. There, is someone on his knees. His name is Katé. It is he that has handed these things over to me. He says that he was working far away from home - please kindly remind me if I skip over anything - when he was suddenly asked by his employers to go to the Congo. As such he brought you, Grandfather, a votive offering to the effect that if ever you should guard him throughout his evil days and nights, and he discharged his duties successfully and then returned home safe and sound, then he would make you a thank offering of two yards white cloth and gin. Really, this very place he was asked to go, none of his parents had ever been there so that they could advise him as to the sort of life that went on there. But as a matter of fact, when he came to you thus, with his votive offering, he himself is confessing it today that nothing ill befell him during his stay there, in that far country. He says that when he went, the work given him to do went very smoothly, and ended most successfully and that he was back at the present moment with his father. Now he says, he heard that today you would be having a bath; and be celebrating a yam festival. He felt very happy indeed for this and therefore has now come forward to redeem the votive vow he made to you. This thank offering, he is now presenting before the whole Evifeme clan - before the

grandchildren nephews and nieces - on this memorable Thursday. Having brought you the promised white cloth and a bottle of gin he has asked me to thank you very sincerely for all your care taken of him. He says he is paying his votive vow today. The things have come and I have received them on your behalf. Please you also receive them for us.

18.

Grandfather Mosquito Larva never absent from water!
Mighty Stool! Saviour! The Great Sword that sets out and peace is restored! I invoke your presence again for the same abundant life for which I have always been calling upon you. It will never be for evil that I shall call upon you. Here are some gifts including one big long tuber of yam. Mevemo, your servant beside me here on her knees says, quite recently she came to kneel before you in prayer, because something very frightening has terrified her. She knows that you, Grandfather, you are not a fence against which a person leans and falls when the fence gets worn out. You are not a wall against which a person leans and falls when the wall breaks down. Since you are a mountain against which her parents confidently lean with success always, she also leans against you always in a similar manner. Today, this Thursday, she says she has heard you will be taking a bath and also will be receiving gifts of yam and animals. As such she has tried her best to come forward to redeem her vow. She has accordingly brought two bottles of soft drink and a large tuber of yam and has asked me to express

very sincerely to you her heart-felt thanks and to ask for your protection for her and her children in the days ahead. She has not brought any strong drink so that when she leaves here she may be going through only 'hot' and difficult days. She says she has brought only soft drink - sweet drink - so that she may henceforth hear only sweet and pleasant words from those around her and that all her actions and words must also be pleasant to her neighbours. This is all that she has asked me to tell you. Grandfather! the things have come and I have received them with both hands. May you also receive them for us.

19.

Please receive these on behalf of the war company that they as well as the whole clan may be united. He who has not been having children, may he get a spouse to marry and have children. It is people who surround a chief before he is heard of in far lands. If anyone plans evil against your representative, Amegã Lẽ, and this whole clan, may his evil come upon this person rather. He who wishes him abundant life may he also be successful in his ventures. But he that wishes Amegã Lẽ evil may he utterly fail in all his ventures. If he takes gin may the drink become blood and take him to "deadland". He that wishes Amegã Lẽ abundant life, may he also enjoy sound health, get plenty of money, drink life-giving gin, and get good clothes to wear. Ancestors! this is the message the whole clan has asked me to pass on to you. That is all.

20.

O! The Great Sword that sets out and peace is restored.
Mosquito Larva never absent from water. I call upon you not for misfortunes but for abundant life. Someone, Tete Zonyira by name, who is in the whiteman's employment at Tema says he wants to cover you with cloth. He has obtained two yards of white cloth and two bottles of gin and has asked me to present them to you. May he be successful in his work. He does not wish anyone evil. If therefore anyone wishes him evil, may the evil fall upon that person himself. May the whiteman follow closely the work he is doing and pay him sufficiently so that we here too may not want. If his cloth is torn please cover him with a new one. If ever someone should undermine him, may the person rather suffer. This is the cloth and I have received it on your behalf, and shall cover you with it. I am not going to cover you that trouble may abound. Neither am I going to cover you that death may abound. If I cover you, it is because I want abundant life, good luck, healthy arms and legs, good health in general to abound always. May the fruits be more than the leaves of the plant.

21.

The Great Sword that sets out and peace is restored!
Mosquito Larva never absent from water! I invoke your presence not for evil but for abundant life. The animals which we slaughtered for you have now been cooked and this I now offer you, that abundant life may abound. May good luck come to us

from the sea-side, and from the lagoon-side and from all corners of the earth. May you provide a firm support both behind and in front of us that we may enjoy good health and the whole clan united. May evil be gone and peace and prosperity reign supreme. The great Sword that sets out and peace is restored! Those who do not take it with palm oil, here is yours. May you take it to Mawu that it becomes abundant life to return to us. May goodluck come to us. May the whole clan be united. May those who have not been having children have children. When the traders go out with their wares may all go well with them. Good luck to the farmer! Good luck to the fisherman. May everybody be successful (see the 'head') in every venture. It is success that we want; please take these gifts to Mawu and bring us blessings from him.

22.

Grandfather Mosquito Larva never absent from water!

The presented and immolated animals have now been cooked. This is the part without palm oil. Receive it and take it to the abode of Mawu. May you give us strong and healthy arms and legs good health to us all. May the whole clan be united. May we be successful in all ventures that we get money to spend. May all your children working away from home in the employment of the whiteman, be successful. May the whiteman be kind to them and give them plenty that those of us at home, may also have something to spend. It is from afar that fortune comes to enter into a person's room. It should not leave the room for

another place. Oh! Grandfather we implore you to provide us with our subsistence. Ancestral festival should not be a transitory practice. If you protect us and we continue to enjoy good health we shall continue to surround you every year. This is the message I have for you.

23.

The Great Sword that sets out and peace is restored! Powerful Grandfather! Mighty Stool. We have finished with the immolation and have now brought you meat cooked in blood. Please receive it for us and take away all manners of evil from us. Please may all evil pass over head. Remove all the wicked people from among us. May you also take away from our heads that terrible trouble which came upon us recently. These are the days of wisdom and knowledge. May you open our minds; when we walk we take wise steps. May all evil pass over our head and peace abound for ever. If you do it thus for us, we shall again gather around you by all means. This is the message we have for you to take to Mawu and bring us blessing i return. May we enjoy good health. May our social group be purged of the enemies within it, that we enjoy good health. Our group is thinning down. Please grant that those who have been having children should have many more; even those not having, may also have children so that we gather round you in large numbers.

24.

Grandfather Mosquito Larva never absent from water?

This is the blood meal from the immolated animals. Please, may the whole clan be united. Grant us healthy arms and legs. Good luck to all. Prosperity to the farmer whose harvest there must be a richman to buy that the farmer also may have something to spend. May the fisherman have a big catch always that he supplies himself and his children the needs of life. Festivals should not be a temporary affair. May we continue to live and gather round you year to year. May all our children and relatives far from home be successful in all they do, that they bring some home to be used in honouring you for ever. Divert the wicked intentions of our enemies from us that the whole clan may for ever enjoy abundant life.

25.

For the wicked! For the wicked! For the wicked! Our is the west. He who belongs to the west must reach the evening of his life. O! I call upon you grandfather ^{Ayusu}/Axolugã and Katsriku. I also call upon his assistants, Hayibo and his company. Geyevi and all our ancestors I invoke the presence of you all. The day has dawned this morning and the day being Thursday, it is customary that we must pour libation to you, our lineage ancestors. As soon as this libation is poured may it bring us abundant life. May there be perfect peace throughout the whole land that abundant life may come. May your representative, Awa—dada, enjoy good health. The same to us, your ritual specialist and our children.

May the chiefs learn to take advice from one another.

May the people obey their chiefs and the chiefs also must take advice from their people. It is the people who constitute the chiefs' source of authority. May no evil befall us. But if any should try to, O! Grandfather! A terrible sword which cuts its own sheath! A wild animal which walks over grass and the grass remains bent for ever! please remove this evil from us and place it on other people so that only the news of that disaster should reach us here.

O! Grandfather Awusu Kaklaku! Since our ancestral days we have always been working hard to earn a living. We are both farmers and fishers till this day. May it come to rain abundantly so that when the farmer goes to farm his hoe may find something to work on and the fruits should be more than the leaves of the plant. May the waters of the lagoon, recently diverted into the sea, come back to their place, for this is what the Aglo born is most used to. When the fisherman goes to fish, may all the inedible fish be far away from him and the edible surround him plentifully that he may have a good catch to bring in money to us and we continue to honour you always. May all our children at school and working far from home succeed in whatever they do. May they enjoy good health and when they are successful, may they bring some of their gain into the ancestral house. But he who does not wish them to prosper, if he also engages in a venture, may he utterly fail, together with his people. May we have money, children and all manner of

good luck in abundance, that the fruits may be much more than the labour. Healthy arms and feet we want for the whole nation.

Grandfather Awusu! here is the water; I pour it down for you. Anyone who does not wish long life to the Anlo people, if he wants to break may he break into small pieces beyond mending like a China plate. But he who wishes abundant life to the land, if it ever happens that he should break, he should break like a calabash so that we can easily mend him. May peace abound for ever.

We have finished giving you the water. Here is gin. Receive it. It is water that is the symbol of peace. The gin is for the wicked. If any of them plans any evil against us, when he takes gin, may he reveal all his wicked plans so that we tell him "You have done wrong, as for us, we do not wish others to die" May the buffalo live for ever so that we have the chance to pick the lice from him. (For our food)

26.

Attention please! Grandfather I touch the ground before you with my mouth (i.e. I greet you.) Please Avadada listen. Quite recently I was involved in a terrible case and asked you to see Grandfather Katsriku with a votive offering that if he delivered me from the trouble, then I would pay, as my thank offering, a piece of white cloth and a ram. Indeed I came out of the trouble successfully. As such I have brought the things. Please receive them and hand them over to the Grandfather and

express to him my sincere thanks. I have not failed to keep my promise. Here are the things and may he keep a watchful eye over me more than usual.

27.

O Grandfather Kaklaku who hunts before the wild animals can eat! Powerful one! Raw meat from which the bones are very easily removed! Terrible Sword which cuts its own sheath! Fearful snake that crosses the path and the traders are frightened away into the bush!

Dried Grass does not see wild fire and waits!

Wild animal which walks over the grass and the grass remains bent for ever!

I call upon Anana, I call upon Bluku, I call upon Gemadzifiaqu.

I call upon White-fig-cannot-bear-guinea-corn.

The human skull says "It is your own mouth that caused you to fall in the wilderness!"

There is someone here, Kōmīgā by name, who was involved in a terrible case. After many attempts at many other places to save himself from the trouble, he came finally to you with a votive offering that if you helped him out of the trouble he would pay a thank offering of one piece of white cloth, one ram and few other things. Indeed, and in your name he came out successful. Thus he has brought the thank offering to Avadada^{and}/that the Ancestors had done exactly as he (Avadada) had told him. One ram, one piece of white cloth, two bottles of gin,

and a cash of thirty-six shillings, all these he has brought to thank you very sincerely for your wonderful delivery. May the supplicant now on his knees before you enjoy good health, both he and his household. Be with us all and keep a watchful eye over the whole nation. If some others prosper, by all means, they will bring you bigger thank offering. This is the message Komigã has asked me to pass on to you.

28.

Only the head! Only the head! I am coming, I am coming
I am coming, I am coming. I, the tiger, am in the forest, I
the tiger, am in the forest, in the forest, in the forest.
Only the head, only the head, only the head.

29.

Attention please! Attention please! Attention please!
For the wicked. For the wicked. For the wicked, Ours is
the west. I am a L3afe clan man and it is we who offer prayers
and prosperity results. Today the Tarifo stool is to be
lowered and taken to Tsiamé where it will have a bath in the
creek, Tsigo, with which it has been connected from time
immemorial. Now the elders have handed this water to me, a
L3afe clan man, to pour libation that peace may abound. I am
not going to pour the libation for sickness to result nor am I
pouring it for death to over-take us. Rather, abundant life
should result. If the wicked schemes and dies, it is not I
that have killed him. If I pour down the water, may peace

abound that we travel in safety. Here is gin. It is for the wicked. If any wicked person schemes for failure to result from what we are about to do, if he takes gin, may the gin become blood in his stomach. May Avadatsi expose him by all means. Abundant life to us. May the wicked perish in twos and threes.

30.

Attention please! Attention please! Attention please!
 Ours is the West. He who belongs to the West must reach the evening of his life. We have gathered for a stool festival and the stool has chosen to be taken to a creek. Before we go, it is necessary that we offer the prayers which our forbears also used to offer in far off days. The whole lineage has given this calabash to me to offer similar prayers. May the chiefs and the elders enjoy good health. It is we Amlade clan members who offer prayers and prosperity results. So the elders have given me this water to pour libation that we travel in peace. I am not going to pour this libation that death may result nor am I going to pour it that sickness may result. Rather that abundant life may result that I am going to pour it. Good luck! May the wicked perish that peace may abound. When we set out, may we be successful at every stage. Now we are going to lower the stool; may peace and prosperity for ever abound. Long life to all! Here is gin and it is for the wicked ours is peace. If any wicked person schemes that we should not live when he takes gin may it become blood in his stomach. As for

us we treat our neighbour's spouse as our own and his child as our own. Those who do not take it in water here is yours; those who take it in water here is yours also. May peace for ever abound!

31.

Grandfather, do you see this water? Please receive it and hand it over to Toxlā to pour a libation for invocation to those who live at Tagba and to inform them of what we are about to do so that peace may abound.

32.

Toxlā, please listen. It is a stool festival I have planned to celebrate and the stool has chosen to be washed in a creek. This is what we have come to do today. Please take this water and pour libation to all who live here so that we may be successful in what we have come to do here today.

33.

For the wicked, for the wicked, for the wicked. Ours is the West. I call upon all the ancestors. I call upon you Hatsu. I call upon Grandfathers Adzo and Teme. I call upon Akabutu, Tsitsikpleku, and Exoke. I call upon you all the ancestors. I am sorry it is not easy just now to remember you all by name. Grandfathers! We have come together for a stool ceremony in the house of Kpoku and it has become necessary that we must inform the dwellers at Tagba. All those members of the Tsrifo family at Tagba are being informed of the ceremony before we

start, so that everything must go well with us. If any one steps on his neighbour's toes, the offended must simply remove his foot. The water I am holding belongs to you people here at Tagba. Receive it for all the grandfathers and grandmothers Here is gin. If any wicked person drinks it with the mind that we should fail in what we are about to do, never! May it not be so. Here is the gin, receive it. Please we invoke the presence of you all!

34.

Grandfather, do you see this water? Please take it and hand it over to Toxlā to pour a libation for invocation to the ancestors and to ask of their blessing upon the stool ceremony we are gathered here to perform so that everything must go well with us. This we must do before we set out for the creek.

35.

Toxlā, I call you. The year is ended and we have come to perform some stool customs. Grandfather wants to be washed in a creek and so we have first come into the ancestral house. For the pup with white fur around the neck says he chews bones where his grandfathers have chewed theirs. Hence we have come to the ancestral home. We have just finished with a vigil and are getting ready to go to the creek. Please take this water and give it to the grandfathers to take our feet off all manne of evil and bless us so that we travel well with laughter all the way.

36.

For the wicked! For the wicked! For the wicked! Ours is the West. Attention please! I call upon you Grandfather Kpoku. I call upon you Agbotodzo. I call upon you Nyase, Kodzogã Senu, Akpagba, Asanti Kotoko. I call upon you Luma Akplimini. Nyade, Fudzi, Dadivi-kpo-avuvi-te. I call you all. I call upon Tsikutsetsimewoahia-nu-o. I call upon Tsrifo, Akagla, Agbenoxxevi, Sokpoli, Adzraku, Avuwada. I call upon you all. Now I call upon all grandmothers - Xanuto, Goboame, Noviebu, Afenyoawoka, Midzesi. I am sorry I am not able to remember all of you by name, Kwame Akpe, please pass on this message to the grandfathers and grandmothers. We have come today to perform ceremonies connected with the Tsrifo stool. For it is where the grandfathers have chewed bones that the grandchildren also chew theirs. A vigil was kept throughout the night and this early morning we are about to set out for the creek where the bathing ceremony of our grandfather's stool will take place. This water was handed over to the Kpoku family who in turn handed it over to me to pour libation. May our way be clear and peace for ever abound. May all elders gather. May it bring no evil to any one. Here is the water; receive it. Here is gin. It is for the enemies, and may it become blood in their stomach, so that they perish in twos and threes. Long life and prosperity to us all!

37.

For the wicked! For the wicked! For the wicked! Ours is

the West. O! Attention please, all members of my 13afe clan. I , Abotsi Tsigbe, have been given this water to pour libation to the stool of our grandfathers. It is we who ceremonially supply water before the stool is washed. Today we are in the Creek Tsigo and members of the Amlade clan will wash the stool. Healthy arms and legs to us all! Grandfather, please receive the water. May peace for ever abound.

38.

Grandfather! Today we have come to the creek Tsigo to remove dirt from you. We want abundant life and the bearing of children. We wish death to no one. Life to all. Wash us in the same manner as we are also washing you today, all of us, the whole lineage. Both those far away from home and those at home, may they all enjoy good health. You have seen how we had to defy the dangers of the night, and to go through the bush to bring you here. May all these sacrifices on your behalf bring us all abundant life. No one should die suddenly and prematurely. It is not good for someone to warm himself by the fire of his room but by the fire outside the room. The wolf does not get itself involved in danger when it sets out. Should anyone set out and danger looms large ahead, Oh! may you turn it into good luck. May those working away from home be successful and bring home part of their gain. It is from far away that a person should bring his gain home. May we have plenty of children, long life and prosperity! If any-one should wish death to

members of this lineage may he also die. The wicked is a fire that must go out before the bean-ball cools down. Abundant life please! May there be no death, may there be no sickness, so that we continue to do it like this for ever and ever. If we incur any debts may we get money to pay it. Whether we go to farm or to fish, may we have abundant harvests. May the reigning chief be prosperous so that the family may continue to exist. May the whiteman be kind to him, give him more money. May he always perform his duties towards the Ancestors and in like manner the Ancestors should always bless him. May the public love him; may the family love him and he, the family. It is long life that we want. May each individual life be blessed with grey hair.

39.

May Grandfather also wash me as I am washing him to day. May he also wash the whole lineage that no one may remain dirty. May those for whom we are working be kind to us; may I prosper in my employment that I may help to maintain the family. May the whole clan be well-washed. If any people want to cast evil eye upon us, we do not know it, it is their own trouble. We wish long life to the Osagyefo. May the stool itself bring it about that the Osagyefo should be kind to us all. The Abo town is too much behind time and undeveloped. May the stool itself provide a support both in front and behind us. May you yourself provide a firm support behind and before this

our brother who has been sent to study these things. May he understand and teach them well so that our name too may be heard of far and wide. Healthy arms and legs to us all. May the whole clan be united.

40

I. Attention please! May the family listen attentively please.

When I was going to Britain for the first time I came to the ancestral stool with a votive offering that if the ancestors should protect me and I returned safe and sound I would make a thank offering of one ram. This is the one here. The second one here is the thank offering for the second vow when I was going to Britain the second time. Today, as we have finished removing dirt from the stool, I have brought the rams to be slaughtered for the grandfather. We do not want any evil to happen. May he put out the fire of sickness. May he put out the fire of death. May abundant life and peace come to us all.

II. Attention please! This ram on my left is an offering from the family to the Ancestors. But the one here is from one of our maternal grandchildren at Flawu. He says it is in answer to a request from the ancestors revealed through 'Afa' divination. We do not want any evil to happen. May we have plenty of money and children. Healthy arms and legs to all. Long life and prosperity.

40A

May we all be safe and sound. We do not want any trouble. May sickness be gone! May poverty be gone! May you all gather round the clan as they have all surrounded you today. May the public like all of us. May we have plenty of harvests from our farms.

41.

Attention please! Recently, we were all together when our husband was blown away. It, therefore, became necessary that we should observe the period of ceremonial mourning. We have just completed it and have obtained these things which we wish to be slaughtered and cooked for him. If he takes them, it is on his own behalf and on behalf of both the ancestors and all the family dead. May you become a powerful and effective charm to guard us all. Do not leave us alone that trouble may assail us; that poverty may assail us, that death may assail us. May we all together with our children enjoy good health. When we go to sell our wares may we meet with abundant success.

42.

Attention three times please! Oh, Elder Tomisi, Avuwada, I invoke your presence this morning. You left us suddenly quite recently. When you left us thus, your wives observed the period of ceremonial mourning and have just completed it. All of them have brought one goat and seven ducks - one each.

They have handed them over to me, Atsu Agba, to be given to you. In addition, we have also water, imported gin, palm oil, and corn-beer. They want you to receive the things for all the ancestors. May they all - their children and the whole family - enjoy sound health. May the whole family be united. Do not leave us that death may assail us; that sickness may assail us; that poverty may assail us.

43.

Attention three times please! Oh! Elder Tomisi Avuwada, recently your head disappeared. When your head disappeared thus your wives have just completed their period of ceremonial mourning. They presented ducks and a goat we have already slaughtered for you. The cooked food is now ready. Here is tea they have prepared because you used to take tea for your breakfast. Take the tea and look over the whole family very well. Here is rice with eggs, also "kokoe" and stew; 'Akple' and fish stew, palm oil and gin all for you. We have also here for you rice water. Take also this water; it is corn-flour water. Take it for all the ancestors, as coming from the whole family.

Now do not leave us that death may assail us; that poverty may assail us; that sickness may assail us. May we all - babies and infants inclusive - enjoy good health. Please leave alone all that you have left behind and which can help us earn a living. May all your wives enjoy good health. When they go to sell their wares, may they always meet with abundant success.

Here you are with the heads of all the animals presented to you; that of the duck; and that of the goat. Take them all please; so that if we start any venture we may realise the 'head' of the venture. Here is also the teat of the animal. Receive it for the whole family. It is plenty of children that we want.

Here is the tea; and all the other dishes too; I have laid them all down for you and all the family dead. May you care for all the members of the family especially your wives. All your means of livelihood, farms and fishing nets, you have left behind for us, you yourself provide a firm support both behind and in front of us, so that they may all be in good condition to bring in abundant harvests for the maintenance of your children. Long life and prosperity please!

44.

O' Savage Dog that cannot lie where a tiger rests. You have now finished eating and here you are with imported gin. Receive it for all the ancestors, here also is corn-beer take it and become like an effective charm to guard the whole family. May we all enjoy good health; both babies and infants, your wives and your children. May the whole family be united. All that is going to the white men now, may they understand it very well and take good care of us. What they had in their mind before sending Gaba to this place, may they put the same into the mind of the Africans also. Please, one does not pray for the

success of one's in-laws' and failure results! No. Never!
Here is gin! and here also is water.

Help us that we reap good harvests from the use of your fishing nets; may the coco-nut trees also yield abundant harvests so that we have something always to eat. May trouble be far from us! may poverty be far from us! may sickness be far from us! may death be far from us! Instead, may their places be solidly taken by money, and children all in abundance. You also give us abundantly as we have also given you.

45.

For the wicked! For the wicked! For the wicked! Our is the West. O! my mother, Fiadzewo, I call upon you this afternoon. I do not call upon you that evil may result but that abundant life may come. It is not for any other thing but for what I am now going to say. Really, it is just about a few days ago, that you requested me through Afa divination that I should go and meet you. There, you asked me to make you a gift of boiled corn. Here is the boiled corn; please take it and then keep a watchful eye over me, my wives and children, your daughter, Ameblenya, and her children and all your grandchildren. Be as it were, an effective charm to guard us all in our darkest and unguarded moments. Indeed, if we continue to live we shall always continue to do for you what you wish. Here is water; receive and drink it. Everyone drinks water when he has eaten. Here is gin; it is for the enemies. Those who would say that the children and grandchildren of Fiadze~~wo~~ should not continue

to live, may their wicked designs come back upon them, that they perish in twos and threes. Long life and prosperity to us all!

RITUAL RECITALS CONNECTED WITH THE CULT OF THE DEITIES.

46.

O! great Kla ! owner of sweet smelling incense; you whose presence in a reed bag beautifies it. Today Saturday we shall take you from your resting place to give you a bath. We are not taking you down that death may come, neither are we giving you a bath that sickness may result. Rather that good luck, money and children may come abundantly. Those who cannot get anything to eat, may they have enough to eat; and those who cannot easily clothe themselves may they also have enough to wear. It is to you, the departed, that we are pouring this libation. Please receive it for us and bless us all so that those who have not yet been passed through these customary rites may be inspired to do them without further delay.

We shall now take you from your resting place; the bath we shall give you this morning all with one aim in view - that we may also continue to live. This is why we have surrounded you in large numbers today. Here is cool water, drink it that peace and prosperity may come to us. Here is gin; it is for the wicked; cool water is for peace-lovers. Abundant life to us please. It is not good that a Kla worshipper should set out and meet with ill-luck. May he always meet with abundant life. May every good thing come to us from all the corners of the earth.

47.

For the wicked! Ours is the evening. He that belongs

to the West must reach the evening of his life. I am a member of the Blu clan, and my grandfather is Agbota from Nogo. The worship of Kla is practised by all members of the Blu clan. At our yearly festival a libation is poured and all Kla emblems are lowered, uncovered and given a bath. Some of the bathing materials are new sponge, cold water containing some herbs, washing blue, white clay, sweet smelling incense and perfume. In order that a descendant of Agbota may have peace and prosperity in this world he must of necessity be passed through the initiation ceremony of Kla worshippers.

Today Saturday, we the descendants of Agbota have gathered in the name of our grandfathers Doke, Klu Boso, and Agbota. Good health to all members of our lineage. Abundant life to the trader and the farmer, May all employers heap kindnesses upon all our literate relatives working for them so that peace may come. Here is water please?

O! mighty Kla ! owner of sweet smelling incense! you whose presence in a reed bag adds special beauty to it! After bath, and, before meals, gin is taken to whet the appetite. Here is gin. Now wash your hands with this water. Today, we want to feed you - offerings of food must be brought you at the turn of the year. Here you are with our food-offering. It is abundant life that we want. May you also reward us exactly the same as we are doing it for you now. Please, everything

depends upon you, we are mere ignorant wretches. For us, all that we want is only abundant life. Here is mashed yam; here is rice; here is 'kokoe'; here are eggs; receive them, all of you. Lay you fence us all with abundant life as we are also fencing you today with these dishes. We want enough to wear, and enough to eat. This is the very reason why we have surrounded you with these honours today. May you please give us plenty of money that we may easily pay for the expenses the present ceremonies shall bring us. If not, well, it is your own trouble. May abundant life come to us all and every one be blessed with grey hair.

After meals you must drink water. Here you are with it. Here is gin; this is not for your enjoyment but to intoxicate and incite you against all our enemies. It is not good that a Kla worshipper should meet with bad luck. Should he, O! may it be turned into good luck for him.

49.

O! my spouse! Grandmother red substance never absent from a woman's bathing place. Breaker of spears and forge-hammers. A forge-hammer never used as a spear. Mighty rivers never artificially closed to trap fishes. Hot drink never given to infants. A deity that laughs and frowns. Sea water never used for drinking. A child of peace. One who blesses with children and money (or one who demands money and human beings for some taboos violated), Destroyer of whole households!

O! my spouse, I invoke your presence, Today, being an auspicious day to approach you, I wake up this early morning to pour you libation of water. May all your male and female slaves enjoy good health. May this town of Aql3ga, indeed the whole of Aql3land, enjoy good health. Strong arms and legs to all. Here is water. Please put out all the fires of misfortune which surround us that peace may for ever abound.

50.

O' my spouse! Grandmother red substance never absent from a woman's bathing place. Breaker of spears and forge-hammers. Sea water never used for drinking. My friend the lover of children! I invoke your presence. Here is someone on his knees Kofi Gaba, from Keta. He says that through you, the deities of our ancestors, he was able to do well at school here and was later sent to London to continue his studies. In London it became necessary that he should come back home to have an on-the-spot study of our traditional beliefs and practices before his studies could go on. So he has come to me here today with a very large bottle of gin and a large sum of money. He has asked me to give them to you to be taken, together with all that destroy life, to the abode of Mawu, the Creator, leave them there and in return bring him all that make for abundant life. Now, as I offer this prayer for him, may he have strong arms and legs. I confidently tell him on this your auspicious day that all the co-operation he needs from me I shall surely give

him. For him I shall continue to pray that he prospers throughout life. If you do it thus for him and for us all, O! Grandmother! - (you yourself know that) a shrine should never remain deserted - we shall continue to surround you with greater honours from year to year.

51.

O! Grandmother red substance never absent from a woman's bathing place. I am still on my knees before you. Here is the first draught of the gin Kofi has brought you: In the name of all the ancestors I am going to pour it out for you. May you put out the fire of trouble; may you put out the fire of want; may you put out the fire of death, which may happen to surround Kofi and us also. Healthy arms and legs to him. May you yourself bring it about that Aql3land also gains a place of honour among the nations of the world. May peace and prosperity for ever abound.

52.

For the wicked! for the wicked! for the wicked! May the rising sun expose all the wicked. Our is the West. A child of the West must reach the evening of his life. O! Grandfather Gbe! Every grass never without any use. Old thicket which provides shelter for the big and aged snakes. I invoke your presence. It is now the turn of the festival year and both the Aql3 and the Eve people are observing theirs variously throughout their lands. As you are in the vanguard of our deities,

your male and female slaves, indeed the whole community here, have surrounded you. Here is the water of life. Receive it. It is healthy arms and legs that we want. May you put out all the fires of misfortunes which are hanging over us. May it come to rain sufficiently so that when the farmer goes to farm his hoe may find enough to work on and the fruits of his labour outnumber the leaves of the plants; and that the net of the fisherman may give him a good catch also. Today we are taking you down from your resting place to give you a bath. May you also wash all of us clean. Here is the water of life. May you receive it for us.

53.

1. For the wicked! May the rising sun expose them!
 Ours is the West. A child of the West must reach the evening of his life.
 'Hat' priests and priestesses I show you the pot
 of life ... Yoo!
 'Headcloth' priests and priestesses I show you
 the pot of life ... Yoo!
 Male slaves I show you the pot of life ... Yoo!
 Female slaves I show you the pot of life ... Yoo!
 One, two, three, four, five, six, seven!
2. For the wicked! May the rising sun expose them!
 Ours is the West. A child of the West must reach the evening of his life.
 'Hat' priests and priestesses, I show you the
 reed of life ... Yoo!

'Headcloth' priests and priestesses, I show you

the reed of life ... Yoo!

Male slaves I show you the reed of life ... Yoo!

Female slaves I show you the reed of life ... Yoo!

One, two, three, four, five, six, seven!

3. For the wicked! May the rising sun expose them!

Ours is the West. A child of the West must reach
the evening of his life.

'Hat' priests and priestesses, I show you the

stool of life ... Yoo!

'Headcloth' priests and priestesses, I show you

the stool of life ... Yoo!

Male slaves, I show you the stool of life ... Yoo!

Female slaves, I show you the stool of live ... Yoo!

One, two, three, four, five, six, seven.

54.

O! Grandfather Avada! I invoke your presence. The annual festival season has come round and all are performing their rites variously - including the Akans also. So your male and female slaves, indeed the whole lineage, have all gathered and, with this water and oil, they wish to remove dirt from you. May all the male and female slaves enjoy good health. It is all because they want long and prosperous lives that they have all surrounded you today. May success meet the trader any time he goes out to sell his products. Likewise, may the farmer's hoe have enough to work on so that he may reap abundant harvests.

If you take good care of us, by all means, we shall surround you always with these honours from year to year.

May all your educated children working away from home drink deep in the well of the white man's knowledge for the good of us all. Since this is the era of sound education, may you bless those who are still at school with understanding brains. Should any enemies think evil of your children - both male and female slaves - well, they say, they are constantly under your care and protection. No one ever walks closely behind an ox and he is ever trapped down by a rope. Here is water for your bath; we have bought it on credit. May you bless us that we have enough to pay for it. Success to the fisherman. Receive this cool water for your bath! and may it come to rain sufficiently so that we may be blessed with abundant life. Very many thanks for all that you have been doing for us; please continue to give us, even more!

55.

For the second time we are anointing you with this oil and ground bark of the camwood - we are not used to anointing you once only. Therefore with our two hands may you help us to take a very firm grip of any good luck that comes our way. If you do this for us we shall always gather round you from year to year. O! the pains which the troubles of this life are inflicting upon our bodies have increased considerably. May you yourself massage our ailing bodies till we are safe again in the

hands of good health. O! The heat of misfortunes have become too unbearable these days. It is to your care and protection that we commend ourselves.

56.

Grandfather! May you please protect me. How you nursed me back to this life during my recent illness - and I am now again on my feet serving you - in the same manner, may you continue to protect me, my children and my grandchildren. I fervently implore you to do this for me. Though I myself had no hope of recovery, your care and protection made this possible I am very much pleased with it. May you continue to protect my children; it is also through their help that I have come back to this world. Very many thanks.

57.

Grandfather! All your male and female slaves - indeed the whole lineage - have given me this food to be given you. May you also give us even more abundantly. Whether we are farming, fishing or selling our products may we all meet with success. May you always protect us that we continue to surround you with these honours, from year to year. Worship should not be transitory but perennially rooted in the lives of worshippers. Long life to us all.

58.

O! Grandfather! Here is gin. We give it to you in the hope that you also may keep a watchful eye constantly over us

all, more especially, when we are overwhelmed with the dangers of this life. May you extend your protective care over all our children even those yet unborn. Lay you put out all the fires of death, illness, trouble and want that encircle us. The whole lineage has asked me to give you this guinea corn beer brewed from the fire that was ceremonially lit for you. Worship should not be transitory but perennially rooted in the lives of worshippers. We also shall continue to gather round you if only it comes to rain and we are blessed with abundant life.

59

Priests, priestesses, male and female slaves! All of you attention please. O! Grandfather Avada! the annual festival season has come round and both the Anl3 and the Eve people are performing their rites. So the servant of Grandfather Avada has summoned priests and priestesses, male and female slaves, to give Grandfather Avada a bath. After the bath, we gave him ground camwood bark and oil to be taken, together with all that destroy life, to the abode of Mawu, the Creator, leave them there and, in return, bring to us, all that make for abundant life. The men pray that when they go to farm, may their hoes have enough to work on and the harvest plentiful for the richman to buy. The men again pray that when they go out to fish may there always be enough edible fish to catch. Now, we, the women, pray that when we go out with our articles of trade may we meet with abundant success. This is what we want; we do not want to continue closing losses whenever we go out to sell.

Grandfather please remove this misfortune from us. Let all misfortunes and troubles return where they have come from. Worship should not be transitory but perennially rooted in the lives of worshippers. This will be so if you continue to surround us with abundant life. Here is the first draught of the guinea corn beer brewed from the fire that was ceremonially lit for you. May it come to rain plentifully that life may become smooth for us. Thank you very much for today's rain but this is not enough. We are among the very first to perform annual festival rites. Therefore, we have, again, set sail today on another year's voyage. May you please remove all obstacles from our way and give us all life abundant!

60

Grandfather! For the second time we offer you beer. It is not our habit to give you once only but twice. Therefore may it come to rain plentifully and should abundant life come our way, please help us to take a very firm grip of it.

61

Attention please priests, priestesses, male and female slaves. The annual festival season has come round and both the Aql3 and the Eve people are performing their various rites. The servant of Grandfather Avadatsi has summoned the priests, priestesses, male and female slaves to bathe Grandfather. After the bath, we gave him ground camwood bark and oil to be taken, together with all that destroy life, to the abode of Mawu,

the Creator, and there leave them and, in return, bring to us all that make for abundant life. As we are among the very first people to perform annual festival rites, we have, today, again set sail on another year's voyage. The men pray that their farms may yield abundant harvests. The men again ask to be blessed with good catches anytime they go out to fish. We, the women, ask for success in trade and that our domestic animals and birds may continue to multiply abundantly. Now worship should not be transitory but perennially rooted in the lives of worshippers. This will be so, if you continue to bless us with abundant life. Finally as the priests, priestesses, male and female slaves assemble themselves today, it is for the sake of abundant life. Here is abundant life and may we wash our bodies completely in it. Akufia! Akufia! Akufia!

62

Attention please priests, priestesses, male and female slaves. The annual festival season has come round and both the Aql3 and the Eve people are performing their various rites. The servant of Grandfather Avadatsi has summoned the priests, priestesses, male and female slaves to bathe grandfather. After the bath we gave him ground camwood bark and oil to be taken, together with all that destroy life to the abode of Mawu, the Creator, and there leave them and in return bring to us all that make for abundant life. As we are among the

very first people to perform annual festival rites, we have, today, again, set sail on another year's voyage. May we enjoy sound health and may life run smoothly for us. If you, Grandfather, continue to exercise your protective care over us - surely worship should not be transitory but perennially rooted in the lives of worshippers - then, we shall continue to heap upon you, from year to year, great honours such as these. May it come to rain plentifully so that we find life worth living. Finally as priests, priestesses, male and female slaves assemble themselves today it is solely abundant life that they want. Here is abundant life and may we wash our bodies thoroughly in it. Akufia! Akufia! Akufia!

63

O! Vizaze! Happy child who knows no sorrow! Here is someone by name Naki. She has brought a few things to perform some rites. As soon as these have been performed, may she be surrounded by abundant life. May all misfortunes which have forced her to come here leave her immediately.

64

Ever since I, Naki, was born into this life, I have never been free from the clutches of illness. I am now completely at a loss because every new year brings me only the same run of misfortunes. Consequently, my parents went to consult the diviners and were advised to present an offering of corn, beans, pepper, salt, cowries, white clay, gin, soft drink, and a fowl

to my spiritual companions in the spirit world before I could prosper in this life. Moreover, education is now the order of the day and I am presently at school. But my memory seems to fail me always. May all these misfortunes turn away from me; may I henceforth do well at school. I greet you.

65

O! Vizaze! Happy child who knows no sorrow! Here is someone by name Naki who complains to you that ever since she was born into this life, she always fails utterly in all that she does, and that her days are spent in only pain, suffering and sickness. Recently it was revealed to her that all these misfortunes were due to the displeasure of her spiritual companions in the spirit world. She is now here to perform the appropriate rites. Once these have been done may her spiritual companions go to rest peacefully in their world so that she also may have peace here. This is the wish Naki has asked me to present before you. May you do it for her as she desires it.

66

Asitenu! Mother of children, owner of abundant life, money and prosperity. Here is someone by name Naki three times. She reports that she is constantly troubled by her spiritual companions. She is requesting you humbly to present these cowries to them and that they also in return, may give her abundant earthly cowries so that she may henceforth live in

peace and prosperity. Here you are with the cowries. Henceforth anything that Naki should do, may she always meet with success.

67

Asitenu! Naki says she is giving you this soft drink as a votive offering to accompany all her wishes she has asked you to present to her Destiny. Henceforth may her life be cool and soothing. Here is the first draught of the drink. May you take it safely to her Destiny.

68

Logo Azago! Independent, self-sufficient Logo Azago! No other tree can challenge Logo Azago. Naki is offering you this gin so that all her misfortunes may turn away from her. Deities never fail to keep their promises made through their priests. So that any failure on your part to do this for us indirectly spells your doom also.

69

With these I have removed, death, illness, want and trouble from my person. May I, Naki, enjoy long life. May I Naki reach the evening of my life safely.

70

No one ever mourns when a stone is reported ill. May I, then, be a stone in your house. Should any person who eats pepper and salt curse me, Naki, when he happens to meet with any ill-luck may he utterly perish. Destroy all my enemies - both male and female. Do not harm my parents and my brothers

and sisters. Do me no harm. At school bless me with an understanding mind.

71

I cut off all the strings that join you to death, illness and troubles. May all your misfortunes be transferred to Kpesiakpe. May all your ill-luck be transferred to Legba Azibosu as I sweep from your whole being death, illness, want, and troubles, indeed all manner of evil that may follow you.

72

Naki says once she has now come under the protective care of you, Grandfather Kpesiakpe, may you fill her veins with new blood so that misfortunes follow her no more. Naki! today Kpesiakpe has drained the destructive blood from your veins and has filled them with new and life-giving blood. May he safely guide and keep you.

73

O! Legba the great Protector! Here you are with the fowl which Naki has brought. Naki prays you to surround her with abundant life and success in all that she may do and that all the misfortunes which have been pursuing her should flee from her.

74.

For the wicked! for the wicked! for the wicked! We are the people of the West. As I dip your hands into this water may all evils pursuing you turn away from you.

75

Welcome them back; the messengers have returned. Oh! you all come and welcome them back. Kpesiakpe, you have got a guest; surely you have received another guest today.

76

On your knees as you are today before Vizaze and Kpesiakpe, your tongue has been cleansed with this white clay and all the evil spirits pursuing you shall all turn away from you. May Mawu, the Great Destiny, the Head-Source himself sanctify you. Stretch out your tongue and receive this white clay. Mawu the Great Destiny the Head-Source Himself has sanctified you. From today all the misfortunes pursuing you have all turned away from you.

77

Naki says her head cannot suffer once she has the head of a sacrificial animal to offer. Today I have exchanged her head with the head of a fowl. May her head remain safe at its proper place.

78

Kpesiakpe! We offered you/^{the}raw part of the fowl Naki has brought you. Here you are now with the cooked part. Those who do not like palm oil, here is yours and those who prefer palm oil with theirs here with yours also.

79

Asitenu! Someone by name Naki complains that when she sees the rising sun her head begins to shake; when she meets

her fellow human beings she is terribly frightened; when she walks, the ground underneath her begins to give her up. Henceforth should she see the rising sun, may she not be frightened any more; should she meet her fellow human beings, may she not be terrified; should she walk, may her feet take a very firm hold of the ground. May she have healthy arms and legs. With this pomade Naki replaces the pomade she has taken from you. Because of all the good things Naki has brought you today, may you also bless her abundantly. Henceforth may long life and prosperity be her lot.

80

May you never bend down to trouble; may you never bend down to want; may you never bend down to sickness. It is only to Grandfather Aduḍu that you should always bend down. May he provide a very firm support both before and behind you. Should the heat of misfortune surround you, may it all be turned into abundant life for you.

81

O! This is for the wicked! I belong to the West. May the rising sun expose the wicked. A child of the West must surely reach the evening of his life. East! I call upon you. West! I invoke your presence. I call upon you O! Heaven and your spouse Earth! Mighty Mawu, the great Artificer, maker of hands and feet, I fervently invoke your presence. O! my spouse! Auleto, Auleno, Kpodzi, Awlosu, Atsikpa, Alu, Golo,

Blu, Venagã, Venatsu, Mighty Grandfather! Forge-hammer that fashions tools. Grandmother! I invoke your presence.

Dutokonyi! Grandmothers Fungo and Avu! I call upon you all. I am only an ignorant child. All chiefs and elders of the three and seven war companies! I ask for peace on you all.

May all manner of evil return where they have come from so that peace may for ever abound in this world. May all your male and female slaves enjoy good health. May only good message reach our ears and our eyes see only good things. May we be surrounded by good health. May no one be confined to the heat of sick-bed but everyone must go out in good health to enjoy the rays of the life-giving sun. May all your male and female slaves struggling to earn a living have enough to eat. When a turkey does not sell in the market it is the seller and his household that suffer; when it dies, it is to the detriment of the owner and his dependants. May those who are not having children have them, and those who have, may they have more. Good health to the farmer and when he goes out to farm may he reap good harvests. Should the fisherman go out with his net may he be plentifully surrounded by edible fishes. If the chase is good for the hunter, the most fleshy parts will go to the wife by all means.

May all traders be prosperous - all your male and female slaves engaged in trade far away from home. Good health to all.

We do not pray for evil to happen. It is the needs of the sons and daughters that the buffalo supplies. Worship should not be transitory but perennially rooted in the lives of worshippers. May all good people enjoy abundant life.

Now may all the employers of our literate relatives be kind to them and give them more pay. May they have increased wisdom and the correct knowledge in the discharge of their duties. May you also increase the skill of those who are carpenters and masons among us. For the farmers, may their hoes have enough to work on that they reap good harvests. Prosperity to the traders also! When the mouth has enough to eat, then the beard, also enjoys part.

Here is water! Receive it for those who belong to the West. Good health and good luck to all.

82

Destroyer of Sorcerers! Destroyer of witches! He who puts out the fire so that the bean-ball may cool down. Grandfather Aduḍu, I invoke your presence three times. Here is someone by name Kobla, three times, who says he is also a man born into this life and as such he also must have someone to marry. He loves a girl by name Afi whom he wishes to marry. But unfortunately the girl is proving unyielding to his proposals. He is, therefore, on his knees before you, Grandfather Aduḍu, that you help him marry this girl he loves so much. He is making a vow that when, through your help, he

gets his heart's desire he shall never forget to come again before you with a thank offering.

Grandfather Aduqu, here is the fish you demanded as a votive offering from Kobla, and also here you are with the usual gin, palm oil, palm wine and the amount of four shillings and one penny. Please receive them and help Kobla by all means. Please god and man do not bet and god becomes the loser.

83

O! Grandfather Aduqu I greet you. We also are in this life and life has been failing us in anything we do. Then, when we heard of you, Grandfather Aduqu, we came to take shelter with you and are now under your protection. You instructed us to celebrate a yearly festival in your honour with each of your slaves bringing, as thank offering, a male fowl, ginger grains, cola, one bottle each of gin and palm oil and an amount of four shillings and one penny. I, Charles Setsoafia, have brought you the fowl and the other necessary things to honour and thank you at this year's festival. All these I have done with one aim - that I may enjoy good health and prosperity. Anything I do may I succeed; our shallots have suffered rather too much this year. May we have good harvests from our shallot farms in the new year. This is the main reason why I have put myself under your protection. Long life to my wives. Long life to my children! If I work may I be successful. My wives and I do not seem to agree. May harmony

be restored between us in you, Grandfather Aduḍu's name so that I may confidently call you, Grandfather Aduḍu, god. I greet you.

84

O! Destroyer of sorcerers and witches, Grandfather Aduḍu! We are only children; when we lean against a fence, at once the fence collapses; when we run for support from a baobab tree it simply uproots itself; should we rush for shelter from a wall it gives us up immediately. Having, therefore, heard of you, as a mountain, we have come to seek protection from you.

Now here is someone by name Tome, three times, who says he is one of your slaves. But pitifully, he has not been able as yet to get anyone to marry, let alone to have children of his own. Moreover, he never prospers in any work he does. As your slave, he says, you have commanded him to bring you a thank offering of corn, when there is corn harvest and yam during the yam harvest. In other words, he should celebrate a yearly festival in your honour. He has, therefore, brought me today, the festival day, a male fowl, a bottle of palm oil, a bottle of gin and four shillings and one penny to be offered you, Grandfather Aduḍu, so that you may save him from all his misfortunes. He prays fervently to find him a wife yourself, help him have children and be successful in any work he may do. This is what Tome has asked me to tell you. Please Grandfather Aduḍu, may you hear them for him.

Grandfather Avanyevi, I greet you, Spouse of Avanyevi please listen. Recently during an Afa Divination, Grandfather Avanyevi, who belongs to our Forbears ever since their ancestral home days, appeared and requested me to bring you gin and soft drink to offer prayers for me so that the Grandfathers may continue to sustain me. I have now brought the things for presentation to Avanyevi. What I am most in need of is good health. Moreover, as a fisherman, I ask for blessing upon my nets. Should any enemy plan evil against me, may (the god) Gu expose him. May Gu expose him as it has been since the days of the ancestors. In fact should anyone wish evil to the children of Avanyevi, may Gu expose him by all means. This is all I desire. If Grandfather does this for me, on my return from Winneba I shall see that a meal prepared with a fowl, corn flour and palm oil is offered him to eat.

Oo! Grandfather Avanyevi, I invoke your presence this morning. This life-giving votive offering has been brought by your slave Azāgada. He says he was being troubled by life, and, when he went to the diviners, you, Grandfather Avanyevi, appeared and advised him to offer you gin and soft drink. Anywhere he goes, any call he answers, all is done in your name. Even the food he shall eat today comes from you. He has, therefore, brought the things to me, your servant, to present them to you to take to Lawu, the Creator, and bring back to

him healthy arms, and legs. He also asks for success in all he does. If he should be successful in life, he has promised a thank offering of a male and female fowls. I have received his votive offering on your behalf. May you also receive it for us. Here is it.

Now he is a fisherman; may his nets always have good catches. May the evil react as a boomerang upon any people who do not wish him well. If these people drink water, may the water, become blood in their stomachs. Here is the votive offering; please receive it as coming from all your children. May you put out the fire of death and sickness. All things in this life belong to you. When a farmer moves any implement on the ground, he does it in your name. Even the fire that we shall light today belongs to you.

87

Oo! Priest and children of Grandfather Nyigblā, attention please.. The annual festival season has come round and both the Aql3 and the Eve people are variously performing their rites. Therefore the paramount chief and the servant of Grandfather Nyigblā have carefully and reverently removed the precious objects from their resting place and have swept away the dirt. O! Grandfather Nyigblā! Tserobi, Yrobi, Keqi, Amuqi, today we have assembled in your grove. May all your male and female slaves enjoy good health. It is when there is sufficient water in the lagoon that the Aql3man rejoices. May all those

who have had western education be blessed with abundant success, so that we continue to honour you, Grandfather Nyigblā. Here is water. It is abundant life that we want. Here is abundant life and may we wash our bodies thoroughly in it. Akufia! Akufia! Akufia!

88

Oo! Grandfather Nyigblā, Tsrobi, Yrobi, Keḍi, Amuḍi, a mud-fish in water with string in its gill. I fervently invoke your presence. I invoke also the presence of Gbaku, Dutakonyi, Asimatsonu-dzo-me, and Gboto-nya-mevea-sese-o. I invoke the presence of you all Aṅl3 deities - really I cannot remember all of you by name. Oo! Grandfather Nyigblā yesterday we visited your grove. Today, being the 'follow-up' day we have again assembled. May all your slaves enjoy good health. May you bless us with abundant life. The fishermen, the farmers and the clerks (i.e. the literate population) may they all be united. May all of us present a united front in all we do. May chief and people remember that both parties are inter-dependent and consequently respect each other's views. May we all be blessed with life abundant; healthy arms and legs to all! It is your priest and his assistant who are offering this prayer for all the people.

89

Attention please! It is Grandfather Nyigblā who is the greatest of the deities in this world. The L3afe and the Amlade clans open the annual festival season in the seventh farming

month. Other clans continue with theirs till the ninth month when the priest of Nyigblā soaks guinea-corn to brew beer. At once a ban is placed on beating of drum and gong and firing of gun through the whole of Aqlɔland. In the eleventh month as soon as the festival rites are completed the ban is lifted and all are blessed with peace and prosperity. Even in the country of the whiteman, peace is restored and life everywhere becomes cool and refreshing as water from the drinking pot.

We have started with the ceremonies for sometime now. Today, the day after the local market day, we have locked Nyigblā's door. After three successive Keta market days we shall unlock the door. At this time, chiefs and elders headed by the paramount chief provide gun-powder and a round of shots is fired in the market-place to declare Nyigblā festival over. From that day onwards all misfortunes are removed from the people and abundant life ushered in. The childless have children, the hungry have enough to eat and our literate relatives working away from home are also blessed with success.

Sometime ago, during Nyigblā festival, a white man came here seeking to know the home of Nyigblā. He testified that he saw Nyigblā, wearing clothes with a hat and carrying a gun and riding a horse, take part in a battle at Agbelihoe. He tried all his best but could not overcome him. Now that he has come to know the home of Nyigblā, he was very grateful to him.

Now, yearly, the three chiefs of the Aql3 War Companies - Tameklo, Antonio and Avadada - have to offer three cows which are sacrificed to Nyigblā because Nyigblā apart from being a war god, has also received official recognition from the Central Colonial Government as the national god of the Aql3 people. Nowadays, there is a general attitude of indifference adopted towards him. The rain is ruthlessly beating us and the sun mercilessly scorching us. In short, we are completely overwhelmed by the night of evil. As we have again celebrated the festival we implore the Central Government to help us roof the shrine which we have newly built. Nyigblā is now regarded as a perpetually bed-stricken patient who must be attended after treating patients with slight ailments. If this continue to ~~be the case~~, only total annihilation looms large over our nation, and we are mourning very bitterly for this inevitably disastrous end.

Therefore, relying upon his past achievements, let us all please return to Nyigblā with the fervour characteristic of our forbears since it is the past that provides reliable guide for what the present does. Akufia! Akufia! Akufia!

90.

All slaves, attention please. Oo! Grandfather Nyigblā! Keqi, Amuqi, Tsrobi, Yrobi. Here is someone, the priest of Afomegbetomi, who has come with an offering to you, Grandfather Nyigblā, because it is you who kill both the antelope and the

snake for us. Following the present bath you have had, he says, he has brought you this offering with fervent prayers that you may give to all nations abundant life and plenty of children and food to go round all of them. May those who cannot get enough to clothe themselves and women with no earrings achieve their hearts' desires. Following the prayer he, the priest of Afomegbetomi, has asked me to offer today, may no one die prematurely! Akufia! Akufia! Akufia!

91.

Grandfather! I ask for your attention again please. Someone, Kwaku Tuɔoabo, says he has also been born into this life and he is grateful that he also has employees whom he helps to clothe and feed themselves. Quite recently he became an Afa Diviner and he is happy to say that this also has brought him abundant success. But his greatest worry now is that failure has started to set in. Since it is in you, Grandfather Nyigblā's name that his employees set out daily, please be with them that they do not die prematurely. May all of them - those fishing on the sea and working on the land - be safe and enjoy good health. Since he faithfully gives them all what their due is, and has committed all his property to your protection, he has strongly advised his boys not to be dishonest else they perish. But those among them that continue to be honest shall continue to live. Whether a deity punishes the evil doer or not, once he has entrusted his property to your care, he, Tuɔoabo, is waiting patiently to find out what

the outcome would be.

Now he has brought two shillings and a bottle of gin that I may offer fervent prayers for his success. If he succeeds as an Afa diviner, it is largely to the glory of you all the deities. In case I do not pray for him as fervently as I should, may all the senior ancestors join me in this. May he enjoy life in abundance; healthy legs and arms. May his fisher boys be honest that they may also be blessed with long life and good health. May Tuḍoabo's nets have good catches always. Here is the offering, and also the gin he has brought. Those who take gin, here you are with it. Powerful Legba, please come and see the gin - anyway Legba never takes alcohol. May Tuḍoabo's offering bring him and his household abundant life. He who catches a buffalo by the horn should not forgetfully relax his hold else he is overpowered.

92

Now all members of the 'Dzevia' clan and the priest of Nyigblā are very grateful to Tuḍoabo for the offering he has sent from Kumasi. May he always have healthy arms and legs. May all his nets always catch edible fishes. Long life and prosperity to him. We all thank him very sincerely.

93

Priest! please hear this for the information of all other priests and cult slaves. Someone by name Lumovi sometime in his life on earth was initiated into the cult of our Grandfather Aduḍu. Recently he was blown away and so all living cult

members - both priests and slaves - have provided a male fowl, one bottle of gin, one bottle of palm oil, cola, ginger grains, corn flour and maize beer, to bid him final farewell and to inform him that henceforth he has no right to join us in any cult activities here.

94.

I invoke your presence, East, Noon, West, Heaven and Earth. All grandfathers and grandmothers who journeyed here from our ancestral home I invoke the presence of you all, that peace and prosperity may come to us both at home and elsewhere. Since we have been born into this life, we have been continually scorched by the heat of misfortunes. Then we got to know of a certain deity, Grandfather Aduqu by name, and we went to take shelter with him. Grandfather! One of your commandments states that when some one has taken shelter with you and continues to be under your protective care till he leaves this place for his original home, a special ceremony must be performed to take him out of the cult membership here. For this purpose are needed the leaves of the Newbouldia Laevis, soft drink, maize-beer, ginger grain, cola, pepper, salt, corn flour and palm oil.

Now someone, by name Lumavi, has passed away and we have brought the necessary things to perform the requisite rites. Henceforth, he has no right at all to partake of any of our cult activities here, as we give him his share finally today. May all fires of death, and sickness cease to burn around us.

May Lumovi obey all we shall tell him.

95

Today Lumovi, we have struck off your name from the membership of our cult here. Also, all the departed, known and unknown to us, all conceptions which aborted and all unnamed babies who passed away, you are all no more members of our cult here. As such you have no right to join us in any of our cult activities. Here is your fowl and may you receive it.

96

Lumovi, here you are with the head of the fowl we have brought you; here also the legs and arms; here are the neck, gizzard and liver, all for you. Receive also 'akplɛ' (hard porridge) which we used to eat. May you receive all these for us. Water is taken after meals; here is your share - cool water, and also, maize beer. Lumovi, this is your share of the gin we used to take together. Henceforth should we take gin here you must never share in it. Here also is palm oil for you - the cult palm oil for us all. Now Lumovi, when you were initiated into our cult you brought gun-powder and bullets (lead) to Grandfather Aduqu. We give these all back to you.

Finally the herbal mixture we prepared for the ceremony we now use to quench the fire we lit for you. We put this fire out together with the fire of death, the fire of sickness, the fire of want and the fire of trouble, that surround us. Henceforth sickness has no right to attack us. Peace and prosperity in every home; when we go to sell our products may we meet with

success. Lumovi! none of you departed spirits has any right to take part again in any of our cult activities. We have put out your fires here on earth. May we all here have peace and abundant life. Similarly all of us wish you too abundant life in the land of the dead.

97.

The rain cloud is surely bringing rain.
 The rain is approaching from over the sea.
 But the farmers have not yet come.
 The farmer, the farmer Kuma has not yet come.
 A certain tree is in flower;
 A certain tree is in flower and it is said to be the palm tree.
 The palm tree is announcing its arrival;
 It says it has been honoured;
 It says it has been honoured.

98

I am gone for ever, for ever I am gone.
 Aqudu daqa I am gone for ever.
 Even if Xebieso revenges, I am gone for ever
 Aqudu daqa I am gone for ever.

99

This is not from Destiny,
 The Priest Boglo says this is not from Destiny.
 It is solely the result of your own action.
 The adulteress has defiled our cult,
 The adulteress has defiled our cult;

It is she that has defiled our cult.
 Give me some water to drink
 And let the So priests take away the corpse for disposal.

100

What Destiny sent me into this life?
 And I have become an easy prey for witches,
 Priests! initiate me into your cult
 That my children may henceforth live.
 Is my Destiny a wicked one?
 Priest Boglo, is my Destiny a wicked one?
 Whatever I do the sorcerers are after me
 Whenever I have children the witches eat' them.
 What shall I do then?
 What Destiny sent me into this life?

101

You yourself have chosen to practise witchcraft
 And have brought death to yourself.
 Do you not know the earthenware-plate-deity
 As the destroyer of wicked people?
 Dugbafi you have chosen to practise witchcraft
 And have brought death to yourself.
 Do you not know the earthenware-plate-deity
 As the destroyer of wicked people?

102

The cult servant has gone down on his knees before the deity
 Earthenware-plate-deity! It is you I shall always follow.

May the deity bring me prosperity.

Should I go out with my wares, may I meet with good luck;

Should I go to farm may I always have good harvest.

May Aduḍu bring me prosperity;

May the Earthenware-plate-deity bring me prosperity.

103.

Shall never be deserted, Aduḍu your shrine shall never be
deserted.

Shall never be deserted, Earthenware-plate, your shrine shall
never be deserted.

Must never be deserted, the shrine of a deity must never
be deserted.

Aduḍu, your shrine shall never be deserted.

104.

Afetoku challenges the sorcerers

Afetoku is furiously on the warpath, priests assemble.

Where are the sorcerers from Kodzi? -

Afetoku is furiously on the warpath, priests assemble.

105

In what manner have you come near?

The deity kills without delay.

Have you come trusting in your strength?

The deity kills without delay.

Have you come trusting in your magical powers?

The deity kills without delay.

The Earthenware-plate is on the warpath, very furiously on the
warpath.

The Earthenware-plate deity kills without delay.

106.

The sorcerers have gone to the land of the dead.

The witches have gone to the land of the dead.

The sorcerers have gone to the land of the dead.

The backbiters have gone to the land of the dead.

107

The Earthenware-plate detests wrong doing;

It is you who have wronged the Earthenware-plate

And the Earthenware-plate has killed you.

108

People have been proved guilty by the Earthenware-plate.

He was asked but he did not speak the truth.

Now the deity's cause is justified.

109

I am not the guilty one

It is rather you.

My innocence is established beyond all doubt.

APPENDIX CDOCUMENTARY SOURCES FROM PUBLIC RECORD OFFICESGHANA NATIONAL ARCHIVESA.

Letter from the Secretary of Native affairs to the Colonial Secretary concerning Case No. 32/1924. Persecution of persons accused of witchcraft.

Hon.C.S.

The Police Magistrate in (1) draws attention to the proceedings at the Inquest of an old woman who took so much to heart the fact that she was abused and bullied as a witch that she hanged herself. The jury made a recommendation that the attention of the authorities should be called to the case, in as much as the deceased hanged herself through being abused as a witch, and that the law should be strengthened to prevent a repetition of the incident disclosed in the evidence.

2. Section 137 and 139 (8) of the Criminal Code provide some protection in a general way to persons who are threatened, or who have used or applied to them violent or abusive terms of reproach and it is a pity that the deceased and her son do not appear to have appealed to the police, who could have done something to help them and if necessary, could have taken action under the Criminal Code. I think myself that these provisions should in present conditions in this country be accepted as sufficing. The people, even of a place like Accra,

and not only the masses but even the so-called educated are in an extraordinarily primitive state of mind with regard to the superstition of witchcraft. I do not think it would be advisable to specify people accused of being witches and wizards for protection. There are too many mischievous and malignant creatures who actually flatter themselves or dupe their clients into thinking that they are able to do harm in those capacities, and they require all discouragement that public opinion can give them. Innocent people who suffer abuse or molestation for the supposed practice of magic for evil purposes can, I believe, get all the protection they need from the law as it stands. Those who from malevolence or cynicism do pretend to supernatural powers are very objectionable people, who do not deserve much sympathy but the law will do what it can to protect even them from violence, while any annoyance short of that they can probably avoid by giving up their offensive pursuits.

3. I should be inclined to acknowledge the P.M's Memo and say that it is considered that the section quoted above provide sufficiently against abusive terms of reproach and threatening, while assault also appears to be adequately provided against.

C.W.W.

S.W.A.

25 - 8 - 24

Extract from a letter written by the District Commissioner of Winneba to the Secretary for Native Affairs.

32/1924 No.2821/Cont.1/1922

".....The use of the fetish judging from the number of cases which go before it, appears to be primarily for the purpose of pointing out witches and is attended with peculiarly disgusting practices. The 'witch' is discovered by the method of killing a fowl; if the fowl dies with its back upwards then the person on whose behalf the fowl is killed is found a witch. The usual fetish fee is £5 - - plus gin, fowls, etc. and it is regrettable to have the record that certain chiefs have also taken fees for sending persons to consult the fetish."

Ref.No.32/1924.

Extracts from the "Report of the Subcommittee appointed by the Gold Coast Christian Council to enquire into Common beliefs with regard to witchcraft and to make recommendations"

CURRENT BELIEFS

2.....In all tribes alike, witchcraft with unimportant differences means the same thing.

3.....Witchcraft is of two kinds. One kind is for the purpose of acquiring wealth; the other for the purpose of harming and destroying human life.

4.....Witchcraft is sometimes hereditary..... usually inherited by a man from a man and by a woman from a woman;.. when.....not hereditary.....acquired either by purchase

and "medicine" and initiation or unconsciously by what may be called infusion.

5.....The powers possessed by a witch are the following;

(a)....self transformation into a beast or bird (not into another human being) sometimes called by scientists zoanthropy.

(b).....to inflict disease and death upon human victims without physical contact or physical medium. (Popular belief distinguishes between witchcraft and poisoning)

(c)....."supernatural" flight through the air, either invisibly or in the form of a ball of light.

(d)....."eating" an object (e.g. a pawpaw) without touching it at a distance;

(e).....causing worldly prosperity or adversity by means (it would appear) of the spirit of the money or the goods.

6.....witches are organized in non-material groups; that it is at meetings of these groups that the witch-finder intervenes to rescue the victim.

7.....power of a witch is limited to the members of her own family and that therefore no witch outside the family can do any harm to the family except through the co-operation of a witch inside the family.

8.....(paragraph 5 (e) notwithstanding) witches as such do not practise witchcraft either with good intention or with a good result; but that "medicine men" may acquire the powers of

a wizard with good intention and so become witch-doctors; and that if such uses them for any purpose other than that of detecting witches he loses his power of healing physical diseases.

9.....witches (female) are much commoner than wizards (male) but that a wizard is much more powerful than a witch. It is a common belief.....that the reason why witches are commoner than wizards is that if wizards were as common as witches are believed to be, human society would disintegrate.

RECOMMENDATIONS

11.....The belief is far more often held by the believer because it is held by other believers.....The belief, in fact is part of the inherited tradition.

12.....many witchcraft stories have no basis in fact;large numbers of Christian people remain under the domination of the fear of witchcraft.....that unscrupulous peoples often take advantage of the prevailing belief to acquire notoriety and importance by pretending to possess powers which in fact they do not possess.....The power of fetish priests has been broken by exposure of them as charlatans. A similar exposure of claimants to witchcraft would, we believe, do something to deliver some Christian people from the dominion of fear.

13.....the witch doctor is more dangerous than the witch. His power to terrorise the weak-minded.....to suggest to

unbalanced persons that they are themselves witches when as a matter of fact they are as innocent as the members of this Council..... to create or intensify an atmosphere of suspicion and malice.....make him a grave danger to society.

14. ConclusionResponsible authorities should lay it as a duty upon their conscience to do everything in their power lawfully to support the civil authorities in suppressing witchfinding. We venture to suggest that Christians should be reminded:-

that witch finding, as it is practised, is as much of the devil as witchcraft.

2. that the practice of witch finding is liable at any moment to inflict cruel wrongs upon perfectly innocent people;
3. that in this matter government is following the examples of all civilized peoples with the sole desire of saving the innocent from the gravest wrong and injustice.
4. That even witches (if any such there be) are the children of God; that therefore they deserve not only condemnation but pity and compassion; and that it is the duty and privilege of Christians to lead the world into new ways of pitiful compassionateness, following in the steps of Him who was known as the friend of the publicans and sinners.
5. Whether in fact witches and wizards exist among us or notif we are afraid we shall be weakened by our fears.

B
SOME CASES INVOLVING TRADITIONAL BELIEFS AND PRACTICES
TRIED IN THE ANLO AREA - KETA MAGISTRATE COURT.

ADM. 130/68 Case 29 of 6/13/39

For that you on or about the 30th day of November 1939, at Apipe within the jurisdiction of the Magistrate Court constituted by the Commissioner of the Keta District did worship a certain prohibited fetish to wit Kwaku, alias Englis, alias Dente, which fetish and custom has been prohibited by an order of the Governor in Council Cont. to Order in Council No.21 of 1922. (Exhibits included "grasses, bells and drums.") A brother of the accused confessed "we all joined my brother to take fetish to help sickness. It cures sick people; the fetish cures disease;....."

ADM 130/70 76/77

For that you on or about the 20th day of May 1940 at Ahiafikope near Wute within the jurisdiction of the Magistrate Court constituted by the Commissioner of the Keta District did worship a prohibited fetish known as Alafia alias Kunde, which fetish and custom has been suppressed by the Governor in Council. Cont. to Sect. 2 and 3 of Order in Council No.43 of 1939.

ADM 130/70

For that you on the 10th of July 1940 at Afiadenyigba within the jurisdiction of the Magistrate Court constituted by the Commissioner of the Keta District did worship a prohibited fetish to wit Fofui, alias Ahoe alias Kunde.

Also in your possession were human skulls and bones suspected

to be unlawfully obtained.

ADM 130/69.

P.40. ".....at Adawu-kope, Agbozume,..... did worship
a certain prohibited fetish to with Makomaba alias Kunde.

P.84. "....at Adina.....did worship.....Kunde alias
Alafia which fetish is prohibited."

P.240. ".....at Denu.....did worship..... Apetorku
alias Kunde which fetish is prohibited...."

CENTRAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT LEGISLATIONS INVOLVING
TRADITIONAL BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

A. CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

1. Order in Council No.21 of 1922.

..... that the celebration of all native customs, rites ceremonies and worship of or in connection with the fetish variously known as HWEMISU, EWE-ME-SO, BUANI, EGUASA, KWANA, KWAKU, NERAMA, KWASA, DONKOR, BREKU, KWESI, AKUA, SAKRA (or however otherwise the said fetish may be styled or known) shall be suppressed; and any person participating.....shall be liable to a fine not exceeding twenty-five pounds.

2. Order in Council No.43 of 1939.

1. Short title: This order shall be known as the Native Customs (prohibition and suppression of Kunde) order 1939.

2. Prohibition and suppression of Kunde Fetish. The celebration and practice of all native customs rites, ceremonies and worship connected with the fetish known as Kunde (or however otherwise the said fetish may be styled or known) are hereby prohibited and suppressed.

3. Penalty: Any person participating in any such celebrations or practice shall, independently, of any other legal liability be deemed guilty of a breach of this order and on summary conviction thereof shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £25- -

3. Order in Council No. 28 of 1930.

(2) "Prohibition of the practice of witch or wizard finding."

The practice of witch or wizard finding and any ceremonies connected therewith shall be prohibited and any person taking part, or instigating any person to take part in any such ceremony shall be liable to a fine not exceeding twenty-five pounds.

LOCAL COURT LEGISLATIONS

Native Courts (Colony) Ordinance, Chapter 98. 1954.

Sections 5 and 16.

Section 5. Worship of Certain fetishes prohibited.

Whoever directly or indirectly promotes, encourages, or facilitates the worship, or invocation of any fetish which it is pretended or reputed has power to protect persons in the commission of or guilty of crime or to injure persons giving information of the commission of crime or which has been suppressed by order of the Governor in Council under section 16 shall be liable to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a term not exceeding six months or to a fine not exceeding £50 -

Section 16 Order of Governor in Council.

The Governor in Council may from time to time make and when made alter or revoke such orders not inconsistent with the provisions of this Ordinance as he may deem necessary.

(I) for prohibiting, suppressing, or regulating the celebration or practice of any native custom, rite, ceremony or worship not mentioned in this ordinance which may appear to him to involve or to tend towards the commission of crime or a breach of the peace or otherwise to be harmful; (substituted by 22 of 1923 Section 4)

Courts Act 1960

(C.A. 9) Section 147.

Criminal jurisdiction under customary Law.

The criminal jurisdiction of Local courts under customary

law shall be to hear and determine charges against persons for the following offences.

1. Putting any person into fetish;
2. Wrecklessly, unlawfully, or frivolously swearing an oath;
3. Possessing any poisonous, noxious, or offensive thing with intent to use such thing to endanger or destroy human life or to hurt, aggrieve, or annoy any person;
4. Permitting a fetish owned by a person to be used by another against a third person.

Such jurisdiction shall include the power to make such orders as such courts think fit in respect of any fetish (inserted by Act.130 Subsection 45).

AN EYE-WITNESS'S ACCOUNT OF THE EFFICACY OF DYNAMISTIC
FORCES AMONG THE ADLO PEOPLE.

Date - 17/7/63. Time - about 3.30 p.m. Place - Kodzi.

A noxious parcel containing "juju" atoms was buried by some unknown people at the Kodzi Local Authority Middle School ground in front of Form Four class. This caused the death of three of our numbers reading form four, and an epidemic of bodily pains, heart and abdominal troubles affecting 80% of the pupils including the teachers.

This destructive parcel has been found and dug up in public by Mr. Agaga Kudamenu Dzikunu (Tokoko) of Atito, father of a boy in the school by name Dzikunu David, through casting of fate (sorcery) to detect the cause of his son's frequent report of ill-health that doctors could not diagnose.

At the time of digging up this dangerous parcel many people from the neighbouring villages and towns were present.

This man Mr. Kudamenu with his magnetic powers in the form of herbs, powder, and two pieces of sticks made in the form of a human being detected and drew to a standstill spot for digging up.

Content of the parcel in Eve:

Anekotoku, heteklolota, ame fe da, ame fe alotsinufu eve, sokpe, adofu, ataku, bobogui, tsi, hotsui eve, dadi fe alotsinufu, ela, nyagadzi, bisi, klala, ame fe agbafutsi, ame fe adu, ame mi, fefeka, ayidika, ama.

Content of the parcel in English: Plastic bag, head of a mole

Human hair, human ulna, thunder stone, a bundle of fur of squirrel, cloves, snail shell, black juju powder, cowries, cat's ulna, raffia, a piece of red cloth, a piece of dark blue fetish ribbon, a piece of calico, human ribs, man's tooth, man's faeces, a rope made of palm leaves, a rope made of date palm leaves and some herbs that easily cause thunder.

Renumeration to the spirits that help: The town suffered the following: a goat, a cock, 6 yards calico, 2 bottles mineral water, a red pot and an amount of (£14) (fourteen pounds) as cost of the removal. I also suffered the following: the call of the man for up-rooting 5/-, two ducks at eleven shillings and a quarter bottle powder medicine 6/-. This medicine was poured in a quantity of water which the whole school drank. Since then no child reported again of bodily pains etc.

After effect: Before this secret parcel came out to light, this man, Mr. Agaga Kudamenu, who is a very fine looking man with a broad chest, calm, good humoured and firm faced, became lion-like in his actions. For he was shocked by the spirits of the parcel which threw him down and his right arm, firmly grasping the dangerous parcel, got swollen at once about three times the normal size. Before it came to its normal size he pronounced some words, gnashed his teeth and the second man on the spot by name Mr. Nunyo Komivi poured some powder and water from a pot in which were some herbs, into his mouth

and on the arm. As this man's arm was restored the goat given him died within half an hour.

(SUBMITTED BY LAWRENCE KWASI HUMPHREY - ACKUMEY)

Headteacher, L.A. Middle School, Kodzi.

Ministry of Justice,
P.O. Box M.50,
Accra.

8th July, 1960

ANTIQUATED CONSTITUTIONS, CUSTOMS,
AND PROCEDURES IN TRADITIONAL AREAS.

A recent Skin dispute in the Northern Region has clearly shown that many antiquated constitutions in the great traditional areas need to be revised to meet the demands of the modern world.

2. The Minister would therefore be grateful if all State Councils would consider the constitutions of the important Skins or Stools in their Traditional Area and forward any modifying or new declarations of customs they may wish to make to the appropriate House of Chiefs so that action may be taken under Sections 17 (b) and 44 of the Houses of Chiefs act.

3. The Minister considers that Regional Commissioners may wish to draw the attention of State Councils to archaic procedures etc. which appear to need particular attention. All Paramountcies for example, should be encouraged to look into their constitutions and propose any amendments necessary. District Commissioners, with their local knowledge, should be able to help in this regard. Obviously this Ministry cannot prescribe in detail the customs, enstoolment procedures etc., etc., which need attention.

4. The Minister also stresses that it is out of date and anachronistic constitutions etc. which should receive attention. It is most important that a careful approach be made as chaos will result if every custom in every traditional area is held to be archaic. An intelligent appraisal of the situation in the most important areas should first be made and it is very important that the Minister be consulted at an early stage if and when difficulties appear.

(SGD) Q Q Q
for PRINCIPAL SECRETARY

To all Secretaries to the Regional Commissioners.

Copy to:

All Clerks to Houses of Chiefs
All District Commissioners
All Paramount Chiefs
All State Councils

ANLO STATE COUNCIL**RESOLUTION.**

WHEREAS by letter No. 4900/56/128 dated 8th July 1960, the Minister of Justice has directed that State Councils review the Constitutions, Customs and Procedures in their Traditional Areas and forward modifying or new declarations of customs they may wish to make to the appropriate House of Chiefs so that action may be taken under Section 17 (b) and 44 of the Houses of Chiefs Act:

AND whereas on 27th February 1961, the Anlo State Council, properly constituted in session, appointed a special Committee to receive representations and meet members of the public on the subject hereinbefore mentioned:

AND whereas the Council at its meeting held this 23rd day of June 1961 has carefully considered the recommendations made by the special committee aforesaid and other suggestions:

NOW THEREFORE be it resolved and it is hereby resolved by the Anlo State Council as follows:-

1. That the Declaration of Customs in the Schedule here-to annexed is a Declaration of Customs by the Anlo State Council.
2. That the Volta Region House of Chiefs cause the said Declaration of customs to be passed through the necessary channels for implementation.
3. That the original of this Resolution be signed by the President of the Council and copies forwarded to:-

The District Commissioner, Keta.
The District Commissioner, Agbozume.
The Regional Commissioner, Ho.
The Minister of Local Government, Accra.
Members of this council

Dated at Keta this 23rd day of June 1961

(SGD) Togbi Adeladza II
AWOAMEFIA OF ANLO
PRESIDENT OF ANLO STATE COUNCIL

(SGD) C.Y. LOTSU
STATE SECRETARY.

ANLO STATE COUNCIL, VOLTA REGION, GHANA.

SCHEDULE TO RESOLUTION DATED 23rd DAY OF JUNE, 1961.

NAME OF CUSTOM.	DECLARATION OF CUSTOM.	REMARKS.
1. Fiashidehehe.	<p>That instead of offering a maiden to serve the fetish concerned on primitive slavery terms, etc., the following only shall be presented to the fetish priest in satisfaction of all demands whatsoever forever in respect of each case:</p> <p>1 (one) goat. 6 (six) bottles gin. £5. 8. Od. (five pounds eight shillings).</p> <p>In the case of "Fiashidi" custom already satisfied by "offering" a maiden, the customary grass bag ("kevi") shall be taken along with the goat, gin and cash aforesaid to the fetish priest when the maiden dies. This performance shall represent settlement with the fetish in perpetuity.</p>	<p>With the exception of very small groups benefiting from the performance of this custom as it stands, members of the public are very strongly in favour of this variation which, in fact, embodies the "sacrifices" made to the fetishes originally.</p>
2. Alagadzedze.	<p>That Alagadzedze in all forms be abolished in the Anlo State. Instead the "offended" priest or any priestess or any aggrieved person shall have the matter reported to the Chief of the town or village where the shrine is situated. The Chief shall thereupon invite the Chief priest "Hubonor" and with the Chief's and chief priest's counsellors, try the matter by arbitration.</p>	

NAME OF CUSTOM.	DECLARATION OF CUSTOM.	REMARKS.
	<p>The Anlo State Council, on this subject only, confers upon the arbitration panel its power under section 9 of the State Council (Colony and Southern Togoland) Ordinance. The panel is hereby authorized to impose customary constitutional sanction of not more than £5. 8. Od. (five pounds eight shillings) in each case where necessary.</p> <p>An appeal from the decision of an arbitration panel shall lie to the Awoamefia of Anlo whose decision shall be final.</p>	<p>A fetish priest or priestess etc., on quarrelling with or on being called the name he or she bore before becoming a priest or priestess, etc., goes into the "bush" to be "captured". This involves the "offender" in enormous and unnecessary expenditure.</p>
3. Customary Marriage.	<p>That customary marriage shall be deemed to be legally contracted when:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The woman agrees to the marriage. 2. A "door-knocking" drink of one bottle gin is presented and accepted by the woman's parents or guardian. 3. £1. 1. Od. (one guinea) a gold ring and two bottles gin are delivered to the woman's parents or guardian. 4. The man pays a "dowry" of £10 (ten pounds) and twelve bottles assorted drinks. 5. 4 (four) yards cloth is presented as "To" cloth. 6. Red chalk ("To") is spread on the neck of the bride and she is covered with the "To" cloth. 	<p>The ancient marriage custom is now inappropriate and the present day substitutes are also not considered good enough. Above all, it is considered desirable to fix the cost of marriage.</p>

NAME OF CUSTOM.	DECLARATION OF CUSTOM.	REMARKS.
4. Seduction.	<p>That the customary damages to be awarded to a husband on seduction of his wife shall be £25 (twenty five pounds).</p> <p>That damages in the sum above stated shall be awarded to a husband who has married prior to this Declaration, provided he can prove that the woman was his wife at the time of the seduction.</p>	Nil.
5. Marriage to widow.	<p>That a widow shall be deemed to be legally married when:</p> <p>The sum of £3 (three pounds) is paid to the family of the deceased husband, provided that the said family have previously performed "Aho" custom for the bereaved wife.</p>	Nil.
6. Making of a chief.	<p>That the nomination, election and installation of a person as chief shall be subject to the person's prior consent.</p> <p>(SGD) C.Y. LOTSU. STATE SECRETARY.</p>	<p>Making a person a chief by force is considered archaic.</p> <p>(SGD) Togbi Adladza II AWOAMEFIA OF ANLO. PRESIDENT OF THE STATE COUNCIL.</p>

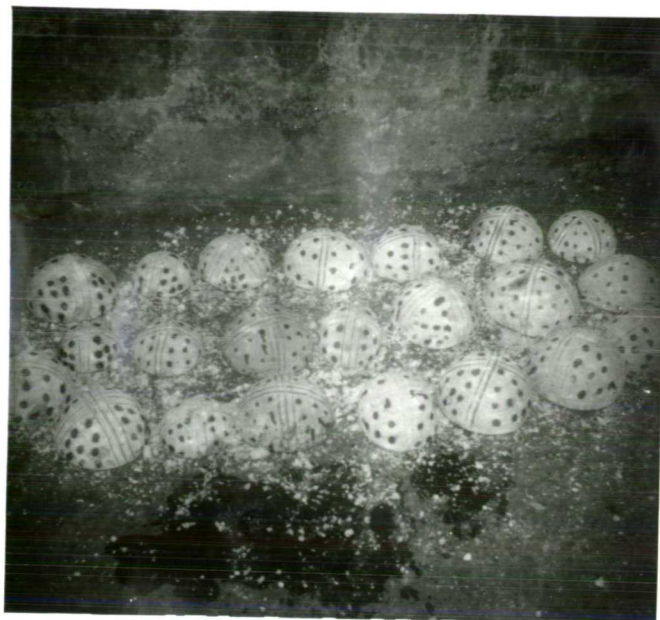
I L L U S T R A T I O N S

- Page 474 : 1. An ordinary drinking type of calabash is enough to house Kla.
- Page 474 : 2. Se is delighted to inhabit a clayey image in human form.
- Page 475 : 3. A pole few feet high may suffice to symbolize the object of the Aql3man's reverence and supernatural devotion - Gbe of the Amlade clan.
- Page 475 : 4. A group of personal deities believed to have come from Northern Ghana. Note the oblation of chewed cola nut in their mouths.
- Page 476 : 5. Vodun Aduḍu - A three foot high clay mound coloured by blood and palm oil.
- Page 476 : 6. The grove shrine of Lāk3 at Tregui.
- Page 477 : 7. A priestess offering prayer to her Se.
- Page 477 : 8. The right big toe of the novice was incised and a few drops of blood drained into a container in front of the deity.
- Page 478 : 9. An Aql3 priest in official regalia.
- Page 478 : 10. An Aql3 priestess in official regalia offering prayer to declare a shrine of necromancy open.
- Page 479 : 11. A male consultant and the outside human liaison during a necromancy divination.
- Page 479 : 12. The goat is let go and may wander away into the nearby villages.

- Page 480 : 13. Preparing the festival communal meal of guinea corn flour mixed with honey or sugar.
- Page 480 : 14. An uncircumcised and chaste man should keep the spear in position while the priest bathed it.
- Page 481 : 15. Anointing the deity followed the bath.
- Page 481 : 16. The festival communal meal opened with a prayer of invocation offered by a priestess.
- Page 482 : 17. A group of priests during a festival communal meal.
- Page 482 : 18. A priest receiving his share of the sacramental guinea corn balls.
- Page 483 : 19. Representatives collected the sacramental guinea corn beer for distribution to their various groups.
- Page 483 : 20. Sharing the festival sacramental meal in the improvised grove of Nyigblā at Aql3gā.
- Page 484 : 21. The sacramental meal may be taken home to the sick.
- Page 484 : 22. Tr3adigbe at Afife.
- Page 485 : 23. A group of "vestal" virgins dancing in honour of Nyigblā at Afife.
- Page 485 : 24. A priest offering the general festival prayer of intercession.
- Page 486 : 25. The wives then presented the gifts formally to their deceased husband through the ritual specialist.

- Page 486 : 26. The ritual specialist immolated the sacrificial animal by cutting the throat with a knife.
- Page 487 : 27. Offering the cooked food to the dead.
- Page 487 : 28. A carved wooden stool - the symbolic representation of the ancestors - and other sacred emblems.
- Page 488 : 29. Immolating a ram for the ancestors.
- Page 488 : 30. The ancestral stool after immolation. Note the "heads" of yam in the foreground.

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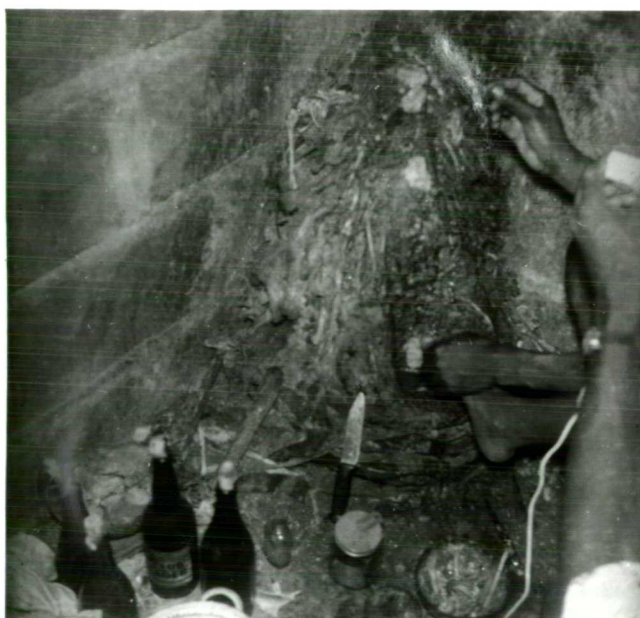


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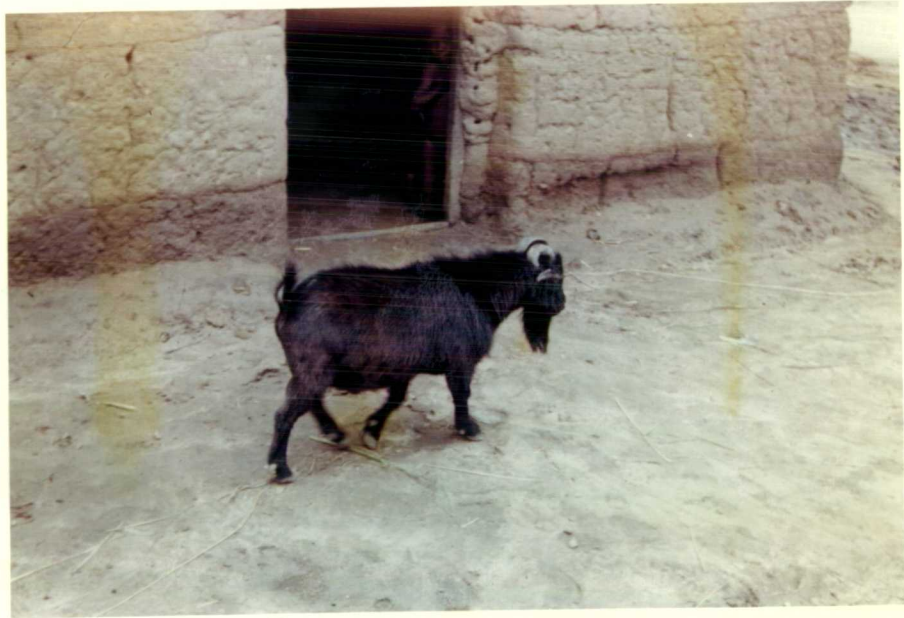
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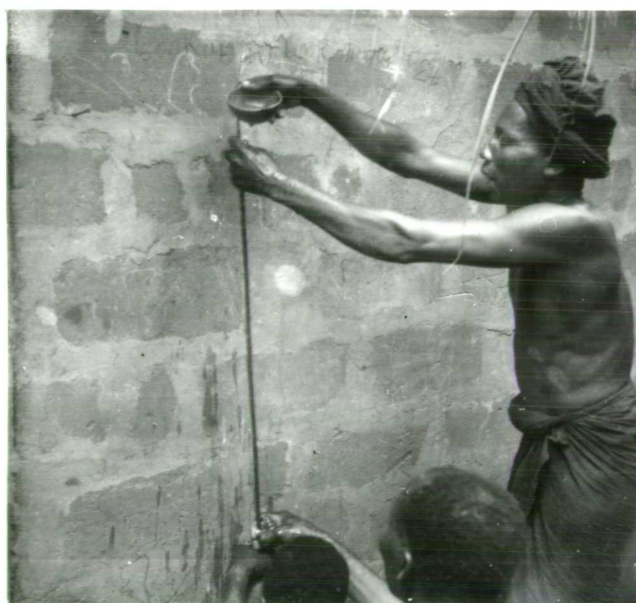
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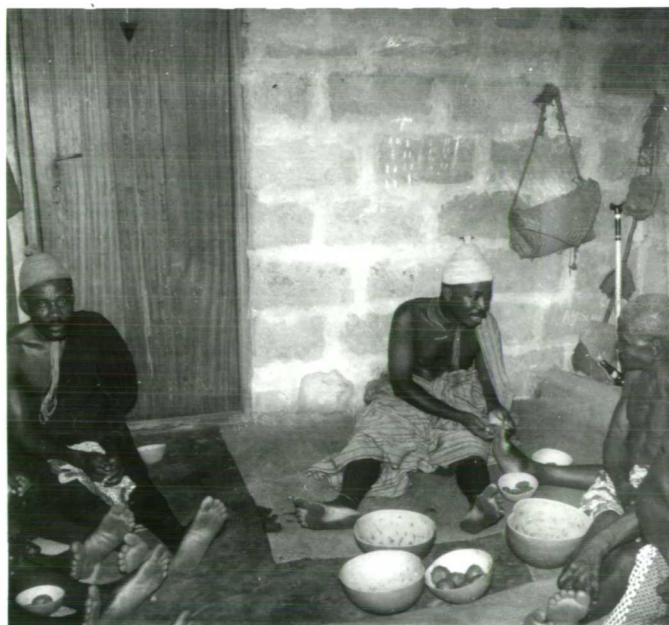
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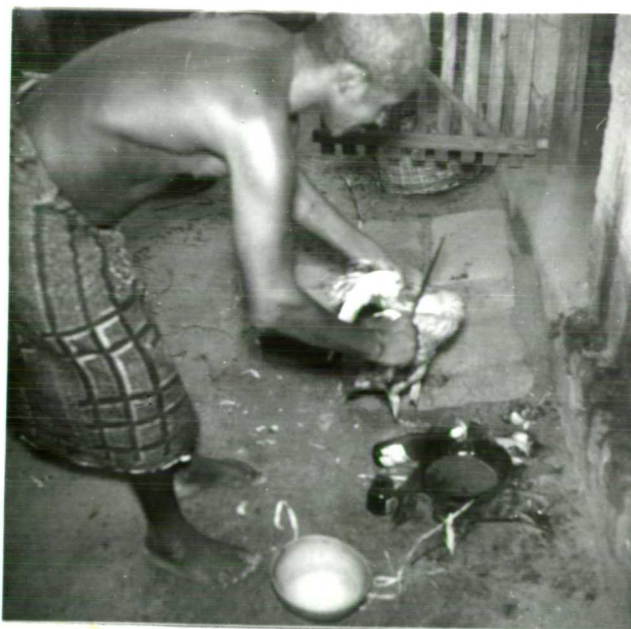


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